

Peres to ministers: Stop bickering

PRIME Minister Shimon Peres reprimanded Labor ministers yesterday for their bickering, telling them to stop attacking each other and instructing them to go to the Likud with the suggestion of a national unity government.

Peres refrained from rejecting a national unity government out of hand, saying only that if the Likud proposes it, Labor will discuss it. He spoke at a Labor ministers' meeting before the cabinet meeting.

The issue of a unity government is raising a controversy in Labor, most of whose leaders are opposed to it. However, ministers Ehud Barak, Avraham Shohat and Binyamin Ben-Eliezer are reportedly willing to consider it under certain circumstances.

Party secretary general Nissim Zivili is creating an external committee to examine the causes

MICHAL YUDELMAN

for Labor's defeat, but Peres said this is not the time for "inventory." Everyone can see what happened after analyzing the election results: The great failure was in the new immigrants' sector.

Minister Moshe Shahal, however, said Labor must conduct a thorough examination to understand what happened and to prepare for the next election.

Labor sources said that Peres does not intend to resign as party leader immediately, but will lead the party in opposition and rehabilitate it, until a new leader is elected to a year or so.

"You can be sure Peres will not follow former prime minister Menachem Begin's example, and will not resign before his successor is elected in Labor's primaries

next summer, so as not to endanger the party's integrity," one source said.

Labor will convene its institutions by the end of the month to set a schedule for electing a new party chairman, candidate for prime minister, a new secretary general, and party convenor.

The party's constitution states that if the party's candidate for prime minister loses the elections, a new candidate must be elected by primaries within 14 months of the Knesset elections.

Labor sources noted that at this stage there is no favorite candidate, although the names of Haim Ramon, Ehud Barak, and others are raised in this connection.

Peres sharply criticized the personal elections system, calling it disastrous to democracy. Peres had opposed the personal elections law.



Prime Minister Shimon Peres, at yesterday's convocation ceremony at the Hebrew University. (Ariel Hershkovsky)

PM: Alternative to peace is bloodshed

DAVID MAKOVSKY

IN his first public remarks since losing the election, outgoing Prime Minister Shimon Peres exhorted all to maintain his peace legacy, warning that the only alternative is bloodshed.

Peres, who spoke at a Hebrew University convocation at the Mt. Scopus amphitheater, was warmly received by the crowd. He seemed genuinely moved by the extended standing ovations before and after his remarks. Some of his aides wept as he spoke.

By stressing the combination of strategic vision and political moderation that has become his signature style, Peres sounded more like an elder statesman offering sagacious advice about the future than a politician having to deal with tomorrow's headlines.

Speaking in somber tones, Peres declared, "I know the road to peace is not simple and is full of thorns. But, even if you discover thorns, don't lose sight of the horizon, because peace is the only future for our children."

Citing famed writer S. Yizhar, who shared the stage with him to receive an honorary doctorate, Peres urged all to weigh the value of a single human life above all else.

Regarding the specifics of the peace process, he said Israel must maintain the peace process with the Palestinians as indispensable for building a partnership. Peres implied the new government

headed by Binyamin Netanyahu should withdraw from Hebron, saying, "The government of Israel must honor the political agreements signed by past Israeli governments and continue the path of the Oslo accords in negotiations with the Palestinians."

Concerning relations with Israel's other potential peace partners, Peres declared, "We have to reach an agreement with the Syrians and an agreement with the Lebanese. We don't have a choice and they don't have a choice. The only alternative is bloodshed, darkness, and disappointment."

In a dig at his opponent, Peres accused Netanyahu of "zigzags" during the campaign, saying, "I may change my post, but not my positions."

Looking at the recipients of honorary doctorates sitting near him, Peres joked that he has something in common with them, since he could now be called "honorary prime minister."

Aides to Peres say that he has not made long-term plans and, since he is dubious of the idea of a national unity government, will stay in the Knesset as leader of the opposition.

Others awarded honorary doctorates yesterday included Harvard University scholar of medieval Hebrew literature and Jewish thought Prof. Isidore Twersky and Hebrew University Bible scholar Prof. Moshe Greenberg.

'Security road' begun near Har Homa

BILL HUTMAN

WORK began again yesterday on a new road in the administered territories meant to serve the controversial Jewish neighborhood proposed for southern Jerusalem known as Har Homa. Peace Now has charged.

A spokesman for the group said the army last week agreed to Palestinian demands to halt work on the road, on Arab-owned land near Beit Sahur, until it was decided whether the Har Homa neighborhood would be built.

"There is no reason to start work on the road while there is a court injunction preventing construction of the Har Homa neighborhood," said attorney Danny Seidmann, who is affiliated with Peace Now and one of the persons leading the fight against the proposed neighborhood.

The IDF Spokesman issued a statement confirming that, "IDF bulldozers began clearing a road north of Beit Sahur," but added that "the road is being opened only for security use by the army."

Hussein: Netanyahu will further peace

HILLEL KUTTLER and news agencies WASHINGTON

JORDAN'S King Hussein stated Saturday that he is confident premier-elect Binyamin Netanyahu would advance the cause of peace, and said he was "taken aback" by suggestions to the contrary.

"I believe that the peace process has every possibility of continuing," he said. "It has a dynamic of its own. It is irreversible... I have every confidence and every faith that the future is bright in terms of the cause of peace."

Hussein said he was "very touched" that he was among the first to be called by Netanyahu after the election results were finalized.

"He assured me that he is committed to the cause of peace," Hussein said, adding that he does not believe that all of Netanyahu's campaign rhetoric should be taken at face value.

"It is my responsibility to point out to everyone, to the skeptics, that there is no reason for skepticism" about Netanyahu, Hussein said.

"I think that we'd better all give him a chance to put his house in order and assume his responsibilities... Any government in a position of negotiation will try to assure... security for its people," he said.

In Paris yesterday, Foreign Minister Hervé de Charette said the Middle East peace process may slow but will not stop after Netanyahu's election.

"It cannot stop. It cannot simply because the alter-

native to peace is war, and I cannot personally believe that anyone in the world, and certainly not Israel, wants war," de Charette said in a television interview.

"But as for the modalities of peace... it is quite likely that the Israelis will be tougher, more demanding, and the negotiations will consequently be more difficult," he told France 2 television.

In Malaysia, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad said yesterday that Netanyahu's victory "represents a success for the Hamas group in its efforts to obstruct the peace process."

Mahathir told reporters in Langkawi, 450 kilometers northwest of Kuala Lumpur, that Israeli and Islamic extremists appeared to be cooperating to frustrate the peace efforts.

Malaysia, where Islam is the official religion, has no diplomatic ties with Israel and said it would establish ties only after the peace process is completed.

Meanwhile, Qatar said yesterday it would consider slowing down the pace of normalizing ties with Israel.

"It's not that we are going to reverse the normalization process, that's official. 'But... we'll have to move cautiously or slow down the pace to make sure that the new regime in Israel is serious about achieving peace with Arabs on all tracks and giving the Palestinians their legitimate right of self-determination and statehood in the occupied territories," he said.

Christopher: US remains opposed to expanding settlements

HILLEL KUTTLER WASHINGTON

WHILE the US has traditionally opposed the expansion of settlement in the territories, the Clinton administration will be "adapting our policy to the situation as it develops," Secretary of State Warren Christopher said yesterday.

Christopher, who called prime minister-elect Binyamin Netanyahu yesterday and invited him to visit Washington immediately after he forms his government, said the US is "not going to change the policy that we had made" on settlements.

"At the same time, circumstances do change, and we'll move into dealing with this new Israeli administration, wanting to have a good arrangement with them, wanting to have the same kind of close arrangement, close discussions, one of trust and confidence we had with the previous administration," Christopher said on CBS's *Face the Nation*.

Speaking from Geneva, he said that after speaking with Netanyahu, he was "reassured" that the "fully supports the peace process."

Christopher also stated he thought it is "significant" that Netanyahu has "adopted a policy of direct contact with the PLO," alluding to the conversation between Netanyahu aide Dorc Gold and PA official Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen).

House Speaker Newt Gingrich said he expects continued good relations between Congress and the new government, and that even if Netanyahu "does not aggressively pursue the peace process, Israel's \$3 billion in annual aid will not be in jeopardy."

"It has been a very bipartisan relationship, whether it was Republican or Democrat in the US and whether it was Labor or Likud in Israel," Gingrich told NBC's *Meet the Press*.

"I think the real desire for security is legitimate. Peace has to come with a security component that's real, and I think that Netanyahu's going to do everything he can to make sure that progress continues, but also to insist that it be real progress and not just paper documents signed by diplomats at some nice press conferences while people die on the streets."

Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole telephoned his congratulations to Netanyahu on Saturday, telling the incoming Israeli prime minister he looked forward to a meeting soon, Reuters reported.

CROSSWORD

Sunday's crossword is reprinted on Page 9. We apologize for the technical error which made yesterday's crossword unreadable.

ARRIVALS

FOR THE 26TH BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING, BEN-GURION UNIVERSITY OF THE NEGEV.

FROM AUSTRALIA: Malcolm and Lynn Chalkin.

FROM CANADA: Don Ellorby, Lyonel Israels, Leo Marcus, Jordan Pearlson.

FROM U.S.A.: Norbert Blechner, Lie Galnea, Lloyd and Victoria Goldman, Doran Goldman, Larry Goodman, Leon Gorlis, Bernard Lewis, Steven Schroeder, Fred Siegmund, Nathaniel and Chertotte Sigitz, Josef Sigitz, Michael and Katja Sonnenfeldt, David Weiss.

FROM ENGLAND: Michael and Danielle Gross, Shelley Gardner, Fanny Pitzer.

FROM GERMANY: Hans-Joerg Borchers, Ruth and Heinz-Horst Deilmann, Ute Deilmann, Sylva Franka.

FROM GREECE: John and Rodi Karkizas.

FROM SOUTH AFRICA: Suzanne Belling, Arnold Benjie, Norman and Helen Greenblatt, David Lippa, Herby Rosenberg, Ben-Zion Surdit, Estelle Yach, Solly Yellin.

FROM SWITZERLAND: Linda and Edgar de Piccolto, Michel and Esther Halperin, Noemi Halperin, Horbert Lavine, Dan and Rina Meyer.

FROM FRANCE: Xavier Greffe, Maurice and Regine Grossman.

FROM MEXICO: Pedro Dondisch.

First plane lands at Gaza airport

JON IMMANUEL

Prime Minister John Major said the president did not use the airport because it is prepared to receive flights, but will be able to have flight departures only in July," said Brig. Fayed Zaidan, director of Palestinian Civil Aviation.

"I have achieved the Palestinian dream after landing the first aircraft in Gaza," said pilot Capt. Ziad Ali Aziz, a 20-year veteran.

After months of disputes over security control at the airport, Israel and the Palestinians agreed

last month on procedures for overall Israeli security control of arriving and departing passengers.

Palestinians see the airport as a gateway to freedom, bypassing Israeli border checks. Although Israel could close the airport, Gazans unable to leave Gaza for Israel to catch a flight from Ben-Gurion Airport would be able to fly out of Gaza and catch a connection to other countries from Cairo.

The runway is 3 km long and is designed to take planes up to Boeing 747s when completed, Zaidan said.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Dikstein to be cited for psoriasis treatment
Prof. Shabtay Dikstein, head of the cell pharmacology department at the Hebrew University's School of Pharmacy, will receive the Kaye Prize for Innovative Developments during the university's board of governors meeting in Jerusalem today.

The award is for an ointment adapted from an oral drug containing the active form of vitamin D which has been found to provide excellent results in the treatment of psoriasis. *Judy Siegel*

Three remanded in Rosenstein shooting
Three men suspected of involvement in the early Friday morning shooting of underworld figure Ze'ev Rosenstein were remanded for 10 days yesterday by Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court.

The three, who maintained their innocence, include Ilan Astar, brother of late gangland figure Yehzekel Astar, who was shot dead outside a Tel Aviv restaurant over three years ago.

The other two suspects' names have been banned from publication.

Rosenstein, 40, was shot in the shoulder and leg as he was driving down Ibn Gvirol Street in Tel Aviv. Nine shots were fired, but only two bullets hit him. He drove himself to the hospital and, following surgery, his condition is stable. *Raine Marcus*

PARTNERS

(Continued from Page 1) an impending religious takeover. The fact is that had Shimon Peres won, he would have had no option but to put together the same coalition. Democracy is the rule of the majority, but also respect for the rights of the minority - and we shall scrupulously adhere to this."

Netanyahu plans to let his coalition partners have eight portfolios, while the three Likud components get nine, making 10 Likud ministers if he is counted as well.

This is creating dissonance among the larger potential coalition partners, who are demanding one minister for each three MKs. The Likud argues that with a coalition of 66 MKs, this would mean 22 ministers, something Netanyahu will not agree too. Neither, it was said, will he agree to the National Religious Party and Shas each getting three portfolios, Yisrael Ba'aliya two, and United Torah Judaism and the Third Way one each. That would mean that 10 portfolios out of 18 go to the coalition partners. With

the premiership counted as a ministry, that would leave Netanyahu only seven portfolios for all three Likud factions.

Likud sources believe that no potential partner has much choice but to accept Netanyahu's terms, because he was elected directly by the people, and the other parties want to be part of the government.

However, Shas's Aryeh Deri saw it differently.

"This simply will not be," he announced point blank. "This is discrimination. We won't agree to one yardstick for the Likud and another for the rest of the coalition."

The NRP's Ze'evulun Hammer said, "different ratios for different parties is unheard of. There never was such a thing."

In the Likud, however, it is noted that this is precisely what Yitzhak Rabin did in 1992 and the practice had also existed in the more distant past.

The precise demands of Yisrael Ba'aliya are not yet clear, even

though party leader Natan Sharansky met with Lieberman for the first negotiating session. Sharansky said it was a general conversation in which "we both wished each other a mazal tov."

He did not specify what he asked for or if he would insist on two portfolios.

Likud sources intimated that his party will make do with a single portfolio, if it is a powerful economic one.

But powerful economic portfolios are very popular. That is precisely what Avigdor Kahalani of the Third Way wants, as do many of the would-be ministers inside the Likud, some of whom are already dropping broad hints about the appointments they expect. Netanyahu will not be able to please all of them.

The nitty-gritty negotiations are due to begin today. Representatives of the various parties will appear before the Likud negotiators separately, with the order determined by the size of the faction. Shas, the largest, will be first and Molechet, the smallest, last.

On the first anniversary of the passing of our beloved mother

YENTKE PESSINE (née MERKEL)

daughter of Ben-Zion and Zivie Merkel (Subata, Latvia); sister of Abraham, Yitzhak and Pinah Merkel (South Africa); sister of Rutstein Neesy-Helen (born Merkel, Subata, Latvia); aunt of Rutstein Gertrude, Gita, Halm and Avraham (Brooklyn); niece of Merkel Ortzchik and Malka (Subata, Latvia), their children - Yudel, Yitzhak, Avraham and a sister and brother (chemists).

Our dear beloved Mother passed away on June 13, 1995, after suffering a long illness. Her courage, strong will and fortitude were an example to all of us. A person of extreme will who was the first lady employee at the Subata State Bank (Latvia) and who got her German Language Honours Diploma after passing exams without attending lectures at university.

She has always been brave. Her wisdom, courage and sense of humor throughout were an inspiration to all.

She was and always will be the sun in our lives.

Our Mother was our world. She is deeply remembered and is still with us every day and forever. May her dear soul rest in peace with her beloved husband Gershon (Estonia).

Daughters & their families
France, Israel (Israel: POB 3830, Bat Yam (Pessine))

Religious parties fail to agree on portfolios

SARAH HONG

THE religious parties failed to reach agreement last night among themselves on which portfolios each would request in the upcoming coalition negotiations.

Representatives of the parties met at National Religious Party leader's Ze'evulun Hammer's home in an attempt to prevent a situation in which they enter conflicting claims for the same portfolio. One such case is the Religious Affairs portfolio, wanted both by the NRP and Shas. Although the parties were reported to be trying to formulate an agreement to share the ministry, this did not get off the ground.

However, the religious parties were united in calling on the Likud not to set up different ratios per MK for itself and its partners.

Hammer said that his party would not threaten the Likud over this, but stressed that without the NRP, there would be no coalition.

Meanwhile, Aguda's Council of Torah Sages decided last night not to insist on the housing portfolio, while the United Torah Judaism's Degel Hatorah faction opposes Aguda's stand.

INDYK

Hebron settlement leader Noam Arnon said... Wikler said the settlement has drawn up plans to submit to the government, which call for repossessing buildings that belonged to the Jewish community in Hebron before the 1929 massacre, and for building on state land in the city. He said the incoming Likud government will realize building is necessary, since it has been made clear over the last four years that areas where there are a large amount of Jews will eventually fall inside Israeli borders, while areas where Jews did not settle will be open for negotiation.

In a related development, the leaders of the Hebron settlement have called for a "thanksgiving" rally to be held in the settlement on Wednesday. Among the performers slated is hassidic rock star Mordechai Ben-David. Wikler said that talks are under way with a number of politicians, who he would not name, to get them to address the rally.

Hebron and Kiryat Arba settlement leaders also denounced the cabinet decision to reaffirm the government's commitment to pull back from the city, while leaving the actual implementation to Netanyahu.

"After this government decided not to withdraw because of security reasons, it is not right for them to try to trip up the next government by saying they should implement the pullout,"

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Religious parties' new strength found threatening

HAIM SHAPIRO

SECULAR and non-Orthodox religious circles are very frightened that the religious parties' newfound strength in the Knesset will be translated into legislation curtailing religious freedom and pluralism.

Israel's Reform Movement held a meeting yesterday, which virtually all of its rabbis and officials attended, to map out a strategy to respond to the challenge. Zamira Segev, executive director of Hemdat, the Council for Freedom of Science, Religion, and Culture in Israel, said she is planning a massive appeal to the Jews of the world to come to the defense of religious freedom in Israel.

"We fear the new Knesset will introduce an extremism in religious issues," Segev said.

For the haredim, on the other hand, the newfound strength in the Knesset means they can right what they view as the wrongs of the past years.

"We don't want to change the status quo. We just want to preserve it," said MK Avraham Ravitz of the United Torah Party.

Ravitz said that although they have not yet formulated their specific demands, the religious parties will undoubtedly work to ensure that state companies do not work on Shabbat and that other laws regarding Shabbat observance are enforced. This would be done by passing legislation to

enable municipalities to crack down on stores and movie theaters operating on Shabbat.

Referring to an issue of primary concern to the Reform and Conservative movements, he said the religious parties would also work to ensure that conversions to Judaism by non-Orthodox rabbis in Israel would not be recognized.

In November, the High Court of Justice ruled that one such convert should be recognized as Jewish, although the court stopped short of ordering the Interior Ministry to register her as a Jew.

However, in what could be an important line of distinction, Ravitz said he has no intention of amending the Law of Return, which recognizes conversions by non-Orthodox rabbis performed abroad.

Another area of confrontation are the Basic Laws, in particular, Human Dignity and Freedom. Segev pointed out there had been an agreement between Shas and the late prime minister Yitzhak Rabin that the law would be amended so as not to affect matters of religion. Although the agreement was never carried through, Segev noted that such an amendment would mean an infringement of the basic rights of the individual.

National Religious Party spokesman Yitzhak Ratz said his party has yet to formulate its

coalition demands, but he is sure these would relate to the Basic Law issue. He also said the NRP would want to "do something" about the High Court.

In the past, the High Court has been a powerful tool for non-Orthodox religious movements, especially the Reform Movement's Israel Religious Action Center. It was perhaps to this group that Shas leader MK Aryeh Deri was referring when he said, shortly after the elections, "Now we'll fix the Reform."

Ravitz said such an amendment would correct changes in the status quo which had been eroded by the High Court. "The High Court itself has indicated that it is acting in a legislative capacity," Ravitz said.

Another concern of Hemdat is the possible reversal of Education Ministry reforms, such as the implementation of the recommendations of the Shenhar Committee promoting a pluralistic approach in teaching Jewish subjects in non-religious schools.

Segev also fears that an education minister from one of the religious parties might insist that every archeological excavation have a rabbinical supervisor, to ensure that any Jewish tombs are left undisturbed.

"It is the classic conflict between freedom of science and religious extremism," Segev said.

Petitions filed against disqualifying blank ballots

EVELYN GORDON

THREE petitions were filed in the High Court of Justice yesterday demanding that the blank ballots cast in the prime ministerial race be counted - which would mandate a second round of balloting for the prime minister.

The court is to hear the petitions on Wednesday.

Under the law for the direct election of the prime minister, a second round must be held if no candidate receives more than 50 percent of the legal ballots cast. The Central Elections Committee ruled that all blank ballots - of which one petition said there were some 145,000 - would be disqualified, which left Binyamin Netanyahu with 50.5% of the remaining votes. If the blank ballots were counted, however, Netanyahu would have received only 48% of the vote, with Shimon Peres receiving 47%.

The petitioners, who identified themselves only as ordinary citizens, charged that the CEC's decision to disqualify the blank ballots was illegal. The law disqualifies ballots only if the voter's intent cannot be determined or if there is a suspicion of fraud. In this case, the petitioners charged, those who cast blank ballots were clearly voting no-confidence in both candidates.

The CEC's decision, the petitioners argued, violated the law's intent that only someone who received the confidence of more than 50% of the voters could be elected in the first round. If neither candidate passed this threshold, the law calls for a second round.

One petition noted this is also the case in presidential elections.

Furthermore, the petitioners contended, the CEC's decision was technically illegal, since, while it is allowed to disqualify ballots for reasons other than those stated by law, it can do so only by a two-thirds majority of its members. The decision to disqualify blank ballots was not made by a two-thirds majority, the petitioners charged.

Finally, the petitioners said, it is absurd for blank ballots to be invalidated when the CEC sanctioned this option by placing blank ballots at the polling stations.

One of the six petitioners said that he is a Peres supporter, while the other five declined to say how they had voted. All insisted that their petitions had nothing to do with a desire to overturn the election results.

Histadrut warns gov't not to renege on agreements

MICHAL YUDELMAN

THE Histadrut yesterday warned the new government against canceling existing wage agreements, violating workers' rights, or turning the Israel Broadcasting Authority workers into a political scapegoat.

"We regard the case of IBA workers as a test case," Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz said. "We will not let the government turn them into an example to prove that anyone who opposes its policy will have a problem."

"The political attacks on the IBA, calling it a 'red body' which should be dissolved, is suitable for an election campaign. But we will see to it that the workers do not have to pay the price for what is a purely political issue."

In a special executive meeting called to discuss the change of government, Histadrut leaders expressed hope that it would not damage workers' status.

Peretz made it clear that the Histadrut will fight against any attempt by the new government to roll back wage and pension agree-

ments, or any other workers' rights, under the guise of budget cuts.

He decided to ignore the charges the Likud had raised against the Histadrut during the election campaign, stating, "We accept the new government, but we have no intention of making its life easy."

"Facts are facts. This government was elected, just like the Histadrut executive was elected. It is inconceivable that a new government violate any commitment made by a previous one. This would be a red line which, if crossed, would force us to enter into fights in which we have no interest."

The Histadrut also is demanding the speedy passage of the wage protection bill, according to which each worker would pay a monthly fee to the Histadrut.

Meanwhile, it is not yet clear when Histadrut Treasurer Haim Oron and parliament head Ran Cohen, both of Meretz, intend to leave their posts, as they said they would before the elections.

Sharansky expected to ask much from Likud

Jerusalem Post Staff

AFTER an unexpectedly strong election showing, Yisrael Ba'aliya is poised to ask a heavy price in its coalition negotiations with the Likud.

Party leader Natan Sharansky has repeatedly stated that he feels the Absorption Ministry - seemingly the most obvious choice - to be "toothless," and would not be willing to accept it without changes in its power and structure. Many speculate that Sharansky would prefer to have one of the economic ministries, such as Finance, Construction and Housing, or Industry and Trade.

Specific issues the party is likely to raise in its negotiations include greater services for new immigrants and a new program of subsidies or loans to help young families to purchase their first apartment.



Canadian ambassador to Israel David Berger (right), who discussed Israel-Canada relations with The Jerusalem Post editorial board yesterday, chats with Post president and publisher Yehuda Levy.

Kahalani: We're committed to religious status quo

LIAT COLLINS

THE Third Way is committed to maintaining the religious status quo, party leader MK Avigdor Kahalani said yesterday.

"Today it's very pleasant to live in Israel and we must ensure it remains pleasant for everyone, both the religious and the secular," he said.

He is reportedly asking for an economic portfolio in the government, either Industry and Trade or Labor and Social Affairs. Kahalani rejected reports that his party is concerned at a possible lack of influence because it has only four mandates, saying, "Laws have fallen or not been accepted because of just one vote. I have no doubt that this government needs people like the Third Way, in the center."

The party remains committed to its platform, he said, including the clauses calling for the continuation of the peace process and "disengagement from the Palestinians for good."

The party also promised to submit a bill calling for compulsory national service for all, in either a civil or a military framework. This bill could face opposition from the religious parties.

Regarding the first hot issue facing Binyamin Netanyahu's government - the IDF redeployment in Hebron - Kahalani said his party favors withdrawing from Hebron, except for the Jewish quarter, which should be joined with Kiryat Arba and strengthened.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Yatom takes over Mossad
Danny Yatom officially became head of the Mossad yesterday at a ceremony at the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem attended by the prime minister, cabinet ministers, Speaker of the Knesset, chief of general staff, head of the GSS, state comptroller, and other notables. He replaces Shabtai Shavit, who headed the intelligence organization since 1989 and leaves to direct the Maccabi health fund. Yatom, 51, retired with the rank of major-general after 33 years' service in the IDF. His last posting was military aide to the prime minister. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

GPO head Uri Dromi to resign
Uri Dromi, director of the Government Press Office, has announced his intention to resign as soon as the new government is formed. He has held the position for the last four years. "This position requires close identification with the government," Dromi said. "To carry it out well it requires enthusiasm, as well as professionalism." *Liav Collins*

Weizman: Peace process will continue
President Ezer Weizman said yesterday the peace process would continue now that the elections are over. Speaking at the annual memorial service to the fallen of the Israel Police at the National Police Academy at Kiryat Ata, Weizman said the results should be seen as "once again giving ourselves and the region a good lesson that we are a democratic state." He also wished prime minister-elect Binyamin Netanyahu success. *Tim*

Women to prepare for local elections
To help women of all parties start preparing for the coming elections to local authorities (in 1998), and for the next national election, WIZO is holding a conference today. "It will be a long haul to raise the consciousness of women - and men - who believe we must be duly represented," according to Michal Yudin, chairwoman of the committee to advance women into politics. The conference is to take place at WIZO House in Tel Aviv, from 10 a.m. *Esther Hecht*

UK Jewish National Fund delegation arrives
A British JNF delegation from Manchester arrives tonight for a dedication ceremony in honor of long-time donor and Israel supporter Sam Herwald, who died a year ago. The 37-strong delegation, led by Manchester director Sid Sherman, will stay here until June 13. The dedication will take place Wednesday in the British Park near Jerusalem, where a picnic and leisure area will be inaugurated in Herwald's name, at a cost of £35,000 raised by Manchester Jewry. The delegation will also visit JNF sites in the North and the Negev. *Raine Marcus*

If We Don't take Action Now, It will Soon be Too Late!
Can We Avoid The Next Holocaust?
This book is as old as Abel and as current as today's headlines. This new book, by Yisrayl Hawkins, is a Warning to all of Hebrew descent. The Nation of Israel is making the same mistakes our ancestors made that created the greatest horrors ever suffered by a single people. In this book, you'll find the reasons for the Holocausts plus how to avoid the one that is coming next, if we do not take action now! If we Act Now, the family of Israel will be safe within our own nation as we were only one other time in our history. If You Love the Hebrew People, Read this Book and Help Save us from the Next Holocaust that is Coming Soon!

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Prof. Miriam Gur-Arye

on Monday, June 3, 1996

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Czechs hit stalemate as Klaus majority slips away

DAVID STAMP
PRAGUE

THE Czech Republic hit political stalemate yesterday with election results giving eastern Europe's last surviving center-right coalition almost no chance of holding its majority after four years of stable government.

Official results showed the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) of Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus had emerged from the two-day poll as the strongest party, with 29.61 percent of the vote.

But in a major surprise, the Social Democrats took 26.44 percent. A computer projection from Czech Television forecast that Klaus's three-party coalition would win a minority 99 seats in the 200-member parliament, down from 112 before.

Analysts said the likely deadlock suggested the Czech Republic, hailed as post-communist Europe's most stable nation, might be heading for new elections early next year.

The commission gave no projection of seats in parliament. Under the Czech constitution, votes won by parties which failed to get the minimum 5 percent needed to enter parliament will be distributed proportionately to the larger parties.

The official make-up of parliament is expected to be announced on Monday.

The deadlock provoked a flurry

of activity. Klaus visited President Vaclav Havel at his summer residence outside Prague. CTK news agency reported, but details of their talks were not immediately available.

Other major players began courting, with Social Democrat leader Milos Zeman suggesting that Josef Lux, who heads the Christian Democrats, might make a compromise candidate for prime minister to end the stalemate.

Lux, whose party is a junior coalition partner in Klaus's government, reacted coolly to the idea of any deal with Zeman.

Analysts differed on whether

Klaus could rule with a minority.

"I am skeptical about a minority government. The Czech political scene is very polarized," said Jiri Pebe, research director at the Open Media Research Institute. "I suspect the opposition would vote to a man against the coalition."

Pebe said he doubted the Social Democrats could form a center-left coalition as this would have to rely on tacit support from the communists, who had 10.33 percent.

Zeman's potential partners, the Christian Democrats and the center-right Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), could not stomach even an informal deal with the communists, little reformed from the party which controlled the country for 40 years. (Reuter)

Four new deaths jolt Yeltsin's hopes in Chechnya

GROZNY, Russia (Reuter) - Four Russian soldiers were killed when their armored vehicle was blown up in the Chechen capital Grozny yesterday, denting peace moves which President Boris Yeltsin hopes will help him win re-election.

Russian military commanders in Chechnya said five soldiers were also wounded when their armored personnel carrier triggered an explosive device in the Staropromyslovsky region of Grozny at about 9:50 a.m.

Reporters on the scene said the vehicle veered out of control and continued moving for several hundred meters after a blast so powerful that it threw one soldier out of the vehicle.

They were the latest deaths in violence that continued over the weekend despite a cease-fire which had been supposed to start at midnight on Friday following an agreement reached by Yeltsin and rebel leader Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev in Moscow.

The continued fighting is a blow to Yeltsin's hopes of ending almost 18 months of bloodshed in Chechnya to boost his chances of winning a presidential election on June 16.

Britain looking for relief from beef ban

BRUSSELS (Reuter) - Britain is expected to win some relief this week from a worldwide ban on its beef exports, but the 15-nation European Union remains far from solving its row with London over the embargo.

EU farm ministers meet in Luxembourg tomorrow and Tuesday to consider a European Commission proposal to end the ban on beef by-products gelatin, tallow and bull semen.

Although some member states are opposed to a relaxation, the procedures for easing the ban are stacked in Britain's favor and the embargo could be partially lifted by end of the week.

US to Milosevic: Get tough with Karadzic

GENEVA (Reuter) - The United States warned President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia yesterday that he must ensure the removal of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, the hard-line political and military leaders of the Bosnian Serbs.

The warning was delivered at a luncheon given by Secretary of State Warren Christopher for Milosevic and presidents Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia, according to an account from a US official.

And Christopher himself told news agency correspondents he wanted "tangible action" from Milosevic - widely seen in the West as the only man who can ensure that the pair, both indicted as war criminals, leave the scene.

At the luncheon at Geneva's Hotel Intercontinental, the US official told reporters, "Christopher said the continued presence [in power] of Karadzic and Mladic was intolerable and that they should go to the Hague."

The Dutch city is the seat of the United Nations war crimes tribunal, which has issued the indictment against both men for their role in the three-and-a-half year

Bosnian civil war that ended by a pact negotiated in Dayton, Ohio, last November.

Christopher told his guests they should all be complying with the Dayton pact, which provided for the removal of indicted war criminals, and then pointedly thanked only Izetbegovic and Tudjman for cooperating with the tribunal, the official said.

While the talks were under way, some 3,000 Albanians staged a demonstration a few hundred meters away calling for Milosevic himself to be indicted at the Hague over repression against Albanians in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

The three Balkan presidents came to Geneva for a day of talks with Christopher on prospects for full implementation of the Dayton accords and especially the holding of all-Bosnian elections set for September.

At the luncheon - also attended by officials of Russia, France, Germany and Britain who are linked with the United States in the peace process - it was agreed the vote should go ahead even if conditions were not perfect, diplomats said.

China's pick of spiritual leader initiated as monk in Tibet

BEIJING (AP) - A six-year-old boy chosen by China as the highest spiritual leader in Tibet - against the wishes of the Dalai Lama - has been initiated as a monk in a ritual in a 15th-century Tibetan monastery, official media said yesterday.

The ceremony, attended by hundreds of chanting monks, marked another step in Beijing's efforts to legitimize the boy's position as the 11th Panchen Lama, the highest Buddhist leader inside Tibet, and strengthen its rule of the remote Himalayan region.

China enthroned the boy last December, snubbing the Dalai Lama, Tibet's exiled spiritual and temporal leader who had chosen another six-year-old as Panchen Lama.

But China's highest Communist Party officials rejected the Dalai Lama's choice, accused him of promoting Tibetan independence and prodded senior monks into finding another candidate.

The Dalai Lama's choice disappeared shortly after he was picked in May 1995. Last week, Beijing admitted to holding the boy, saying he was in danger of being kidnapped by Tibetan separatists and was placed under government protection.

The Chinese-backed child was

initiated into monkhood Saturday, a festival date in the Tibetan calendar, in the Tashi Lhunpo monastery in central Tibet, the traditional seat of the Panchen Lamas.

As monks recited scriptures, the boy presented offerings to abbots at the monastery who officially made him a monk, China's official Xinhua News Agency said.

"The ceremony was carried out strictly in line with religious rituals," it quoted Boni Qambalozhni, an abbot, as saying.

With the Dalai Lama in exile in India, the Panchen Lama is the highest spiritual leader in Tibet.

Beijing hopes the boy will lend legitimacy to its often harsh 46-year rule in Tibet, and dampen Tibetans' fervor for the Dalai Lama and independence.

Chinese leaders have used the dispute over the Panchen Lama to test the loyalty of Tibet's Buddhist clergy and discredit the Dalai Lama - a campaign which shows no sign of easing.

In a speech, Raidi, chairman of Tibet's legislature, again accused the Dalai Lama of leading attempts to make Tibet independent and vowed to resist separatist activities.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Algeria signs nuclear pact with China

PARIS (Reuter) - Algeria, which has a Chinese-made nuclear reactor for research, has signed a draft agreement with China for nuclear cooperation, the official Algerian news agency APS said yesterday. It said Algeria's minister of universities and scientific research, Bouabkeur Benbouzid, stressed the need to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and said cooperation in the fields envisaged by the agreement would start soon.

The agency did not give details of the agreement which Benbouzid said covered "the second stage of cooperation between Algeria and China" in nuclear technology.

Mass said for monks in Algeria

ALGIERS (AP) - Under tight security, a Mass was held yesterday in memory of seven French monks slain by Islamic extremists whose insurgency has bloodied this North African nation.

Yesterday's observance was part of the lead-up to funerals set for tomorrow for the seven, whose throats were slit last week by the kidnappers who had held them since March 27.

France's ambassador to Algeria was among those attending the Mass yesterday, capping a week of mourning for the Roman Catholic monks abducted from their monastery in mountains south of Algiers.

Their slayings stunned many French and angered the French government, which has appealed anew to its citizens to leave Algeria. At least 33 other French citizens have been among the more than 40,000 people to die in an increasingly bloody civil war.

Chadians queue to vote in election

N'DJAMENA, Chad (Reuter) - Voters formed long queues at street-corner polling stations in Chad yesterday for the vast Central African country's first multi-party presidential election.

Voting took place in bars, straw huts, offices, private homes and in the open air. One roadside polling station had an open drain running through the middle.

State radio said polling was going well around the country despite shortages of materials in some areas and complaints that supposedly indelible ink used to mark voters' fingers to prevent multiple voting could be washed off.

Bangkok chooses mayor

BANGKOK (AP) - Bangkok voters spurned an ascetic pro-democracy hero yesterday and elected an environmentally minded candidate as mayor to bring order to one of the world's most chaotic cities.

Pichit Rattakul, 50, an independent whose lack of experience in city administration struck voters as a plus, outstripped his nearest rivals in the 29-candidate field, twice-governor Chamlong Srimuang and incumbent Krisda Arumvongse na Ayuthaya.

Major's son named in divorce suit

LONDON (AP) - James Major, 21-year-old son of the British prime minister, is dating a 33-year-old married woman and is cited as her lover in a divorce suit, British newspapers report.

Prime Minister John Major's children, James and his 25-year-old sister Elizabeth, have largely managed to escape the scrutiny of Britain's tabloid newspapers since he became prime minister in 1990. They never give interviews.

However, news of the romance between James and Elaine Jordache, a supervisor with the retail chain Marks and Spencer where he also works, got front-page treatment last week when they were pictured with the prime minister at a charity horse race meeting.

The newspaper and others report that Mrs. Jordache's husband, businessman Michael Jordache, 42, has started divorce proceedings against her on grounds of adultery with James Major.



Technion Welcomes the 1996 ATS Mission. Ceremonies and Dedications:

Monday, June 3, 1996:

7:30 p.m.

*Arthur B. Wein M.D. and
Mary Lou Barker M.D.
Student Dormitory
at Dormitory No. 83, ATS
Village 1

Tuesday, June 4, 1996:

9:00 am.

*Shelley and Bruce Whizin
Auditorium
in the Shirley and Arthur
Whizin Biotechnology Center
at Senate Chamber, Senate
Building
Followed by a visit to the
Auditorium.
*Sidney and Vivian
Konigsberg Academic Chair
Senate Chamber, Senate
Building
*Jonathan and Edna Sohns
and Family Communication
Processing Laboratory
Senate Chamber, Senate
Building
Followed by a visit to the
Laboratory.

2:30 p.m.

*The New Wing of the
George and Beatrice
Sherman Center for
Education in Technology
and Science
and the conferment of an
Honorary Fellowship upon
Norton Sherman
at the Department of
Education in Technology and
Science

Thursday, June 6, 1996

9:45 a.m.

*Dr. S. Jerome and Judith D.
Tamkin Molecular Human
Genetics Research Facility
at the Rappaport Faculty of
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The Sharansky phenomenon

PERHAPS the greatest surprise in a Knesset election crammed with the unexpected was the showing of the Yisrael Ba'aliya Party. It is the first "Russian" party to pass the Knesset threshold, and the first immigrant party ever to gain seven seats. A brand new party is now a political force to reckon with.

This spectacular success is due mostly to Natan Sharansky's leadership and vision. Sharansky, who never wanted to form an immigrant party, always insisted that immigrants should integrate into Israeli society and participate in its political life according to their personal preferences, rather than their countries of origin. But after toying with the idea of leading a centrist party four years ago - and finding virtually no takers among veteran Israelis - he realized that the sheer numbers of the newcomers and their unique problems warranted the formation of a separate political entity.

What seemed to motivate Sharansky most was his conviction that the establishment's indifference to aliya was symptomatic of a general malaise to Israeli society. The Zionist idea is, after all, based on the ingathering of Jews in Israel. If the immigrants' absorption and integration are neglected, if they are maligned rather than helped, and if their vast talents are wasted in a bureaucratic jungle, there is something rotten in the State of Israel. And unless the rot is removed, not only aliya but the state itself is threatened.

This is why one of the main clauses in Yisrael Ba'aliya's agenda is a call to free Israel's economy. And this is why the party can make an immense contribution to the country's welfare - if it serves not only as a lobby for new immigrants, but as a catalyst for a sorely needed

economic revolution.

No one knows better than Sharansky that economic growth in recent years has almost nothing to do with the peace process and almost everything to do with the flood of brains, talent, and energy from the former Soviet Union. The economy's strides began soon after the opening of the Soviet Union's gates, reaching a peak in the last year of the Likud's rule. In fact, the achievements in the pre-Oslo years were more impressive than in the years that followed, mostly because of the Labor government's traditional addiction to speeding up pay raises for the bureaucracy and on subsidies for the kibbutzim and the Kupat Holim Clalit health fund.

Sharansky has said that a truly free, open market economy can change the climate of the country so dramatically that Jews will come to Israel not because they have to, but because they want to. There are virtually no places in the world today where Jews feel persecuted. And if Israel wants to attract millions from Russia and the West, it will have to offer the kind of living standards and career opportunities which can compete with those of the Western democracies.

As premier-designate Binyamin Netanyahu said yesterday in his victory speech, Israel can have one of the leading economies. Thanks largely to the recent immigration from the former USSR, it now has one of the most impressive concentrations of brain power in the world. All it must do is turn its economy, still a bastion of strangulating centralism, into a truly free economy. It is up to Sharansky, a political leader of unique moral force and integrity, to see to it that Netanyahu's promise is turned into reality.

Dithering on

BRITAIN at times seems to run its policy on Northern Ireland like a person who bases decisions for the day on whether he manages to avoid walking on the cracks in the sidewalk. If this is an eccentric way to organize a life, it is an even more eccentric way to run a peace process.

On the Northern Ireland question, the British government first demanded an IRA cease-fire before it would allow its political wing, Sinn Fein, to participate in talks on the future of the province. When it got the cease-fire, it then demanded that IRA weapons be handed over before Sinn Fein could join all-party talks. When the independent American-led commission headed by Senator George Mitchell concluded that this was an unreasonable procedural obstacle, London, which had agreed to accept the Mitchell report, ignored this ruling and jumped off at a tangent to suggest elections in Northern Ireland, which would mandate delegates to an all-party conference. The IRA promptly called off its 18-month cease-fire last February, pleading British bad faith.

Nonetheless, Sinn Fein reluctantly contested the election. Britain insisted on, and won an unprecedented 15.5 percent of the ballot. That clearly makes party leader Gerry Adams more than eligible to represent the nationalist sector who voted for him in the proposed June 10 talks. Britain's first reaction was to bring the process back to square one by declaring Adams cannot take his seat until the IRA declares a new cease-fire and disarms. The government then backtracked slightly and said Adams could join the conference before the IRA agreed to disarm, but not if there is no declared cease-fire.

Government dithering is always more dangerous than downright obstinacy, and the government of John Major is an undisputed virtuoso of the dither. Its apparent slight backtracking concession to Sinn Fein was immediately assailed by hardline Protestant Unionists as a "sellout," plunging the all-party talks into crisis before it is even known whether they can be convened at all.

The talks, which have taken years of tortuous Anglo-Irish diplomacy to convene, are certainly threatened anyway by the usual cocktail of political intransigence and militia warfare that they are supposed to solve. The last thing the mixture needed was to be shaken by a clumsy British hand.

The Northern Ireland election nobody wanted - but everyone joined as a gesture of good faith - is out of the way. All sides proved their point and brought out an unprecedented 70 percent of their voters. It was up to Britain to bite the bullet and say fine, let the talks begin without conditions in a hopeful atmosphere. The IRA cease-fire may be officially ended, but there have been no attacks at all in Northern Ireland since it first began and once in England for several months.

This, of course, in no way excuses the IRA for its failure to abandon violence as a political tool in Ireland, but given the deep suspicion and mistrust of Britain in the province - even on the side of its "loyalists" - Major should have generously accepted Sinn Fein's electoral mandate and taken it from there. All he has succeeded in doing is once again calling out the prophets of doom to preside over the June 10 convention.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PROFESSIONALISM IN OPTOMETRY

Sir, - When Ruthie Blum's article of May 8 about fraudulent eye specialists was brought to my attention, I was very surprised and upset because the article implied I said things that I did not.

My meeting with Ruthie Blum took place at the Union of Commerce on the recommendation of Mrs. Aliza Liran, the former director of the Consumer Council in Jerusalem. Our discussion was to give Ruthie a guideline for research and not an interview to base her article on.

The meeting was conducted in Hebrew, and translating it to English dramatically changed the connotation.

I am on the board of the National Federation of Commerce in Israel. I volunteer my time and effort in a public role out of concern for the Union of Commerce for professionalism and the responsibility to the public as a whole. This was the basis of our meeting, the care of the public. My concern was to express the importance of professionalism in optometry according to the law, for the safety of the public.

BAT-SHEVA DAFFAN, Optics Coordinator, National Federation of Commerce, Jerusalem.

1946 YISHUV RESIDENTS

Sir, - I am a producer with the BBC in Britain, working on a new history series of Radio 4 called *On This Day*, which every weekday revisits the national and international news from that same day 50 years ago. We try to find people who took part in those events and ask them to tell their stories.

One of the big stories I am covering is Jewish immigration into the Yishuv and the campaigns against the British Mandate by the Hagana, the Irgun and others. We would like to trace people who were in the Yishuv in 1946 and who sympathized with the aims of the Hagana or who took part in some of their activities. We desperately need to hear from people who were living in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem in particular and who supported the goal of an independent Jewish state.

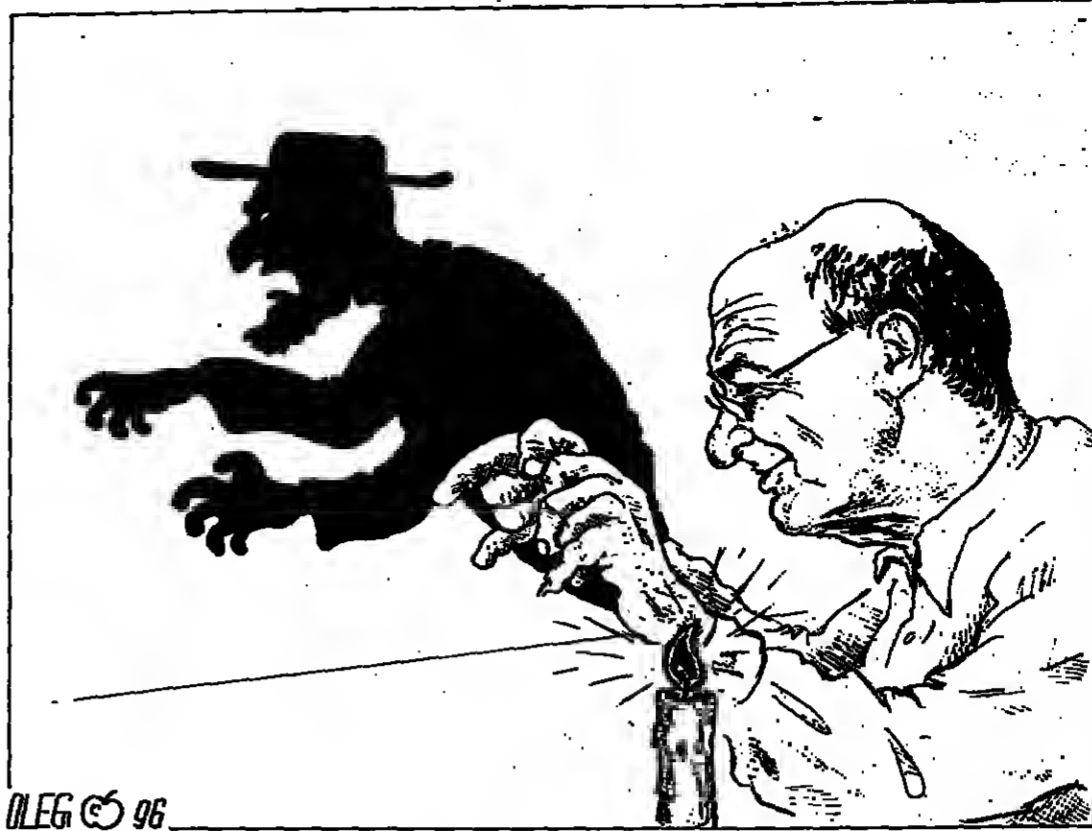
If you were living in the Yishuv in 1946, we would love to hear from you. Please telephone me on +44 161 244 4169 or write to me at: *On This Day*, Room 2121, BBC North, PO Box 27, Manchester, M60 1 SJ, UK. All calls will be treated in strictest confidence, and even if you are not sure about being interviewed for the program, we would still love to hear from you. LIBBY CROSS, Producer, *On This Day*

ROAD SAFETY

Sir, - Once again, the lack of coordination between departments essential to road safety - Transport, Police and Justice - has resulted in tragedy. Just as in October last year when a truck driver, who had been convicted 17 times for traffic violations, killed 10 on the Ben Shimon-Givat Ze'ev highway, now a bus driver previously convicted of road safety violations including speeding has killed four more citizens and seriously injured several others in a crash near Sdom. With proper coordination between departments, these circumstances would not have been a factor. Just one speeding conviction for a public-transport driver should have resulted in withdrawal of his license and entering his name on a central computer so that he could never again be employed in the same capacity.

The State Comptroller has recommended in her latest report of May 1 that the government concentrate accident-prevention efforts in a single body, to act as quickly as possible and include the highest level of professionals in the field. How many more lives have to be tossed aside so callously and senselessly by government indifference and inaction?

FELICITY AMOCH, Jerusalem.



ILLEG © 96

And the fight goes on

AFTER an election the winners traditionally bring out the champagne, and the losers start explaining.

In Israel's last two elections, it was about one percent of the electorate that determined who ended up celebrating, and who explaining.

This is quite naturally infuriating for the losers; but it is part of a given. All they can do, therefore, is adapt to the new situation, take stock, draw whatever conclusions they can, and continue the fight for what they believe in.

There is one conclusion that this election's losers - especially Labor - do need to draw: that with Israel's current demographic and cultural balance not favorable to Labor and the left, Yitzhak Rabin would have had a far better chance of tipping the scales in Labor's direction.

This has nothing to do with opinions and positions, but rather with character and personality.

The shock of Rabin's assassination might have helped Shimon Peres had the elections been held immediately afterwards - but after six months, the effect had worn off.

Would it have benefited Peres had Labor's election campaign made more of the assassination and the incitement that preceded it? It's unclear, because we do not know which 145,000 voters put a blank ballot paper into the yellow envelope, nor how many might have been persuaded to climb off the fence onto Peres's side had the assassination been more prominently featured. The possibility that this might have boomeranged to Binyamin Netanyahu's advantage cannot be ruled out.

Was there anything Peres could have done to minimize the effect of his personality problem? It's difficult to say. Would, for exam-

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

ple, the appointment of former chief of staff Ehud Barak as defense minister after the recent wave of terror attacks have made people more confident about Peres's leadership? Would diverting some of the campaign's attention from Peres to the positive effects of the peace process on Israel's status in the world and its economy have had an effect? It's impossible to tell.

Rather than blaming Haim

Labor needs to elect a new leader whose appeal goes beyond his natural constituency

Ramon, who ran Labor's campaign, for not managing to get another 30,000 voters, from among the 145,000 who decided not to 'decide' between the two candidates for premier to vote for Peres, Ramon deserves credit for persuading some 200,000 voters who didn't vote for Labor, Meretz or the Arab parties to vote for Peres.

Ramon should not be made the scapegoat of a reality over which he had no control.

WHAT IS this reality? It is that a clear majority of Israeli voters either belong to the brand of Zionists who still see our conflict with the Palestinians as a zero-sum game; or are religious Jews, many of whom do not define themselves as Zionists in the national sense, and wouldn't mind if Israel ceased to be a democracy

in the universal sense. They believe that secular right-wingers are better for the Jews and for Judaism than secular left-wingers.

Among Jewish voters, those who believe that the Zionist enterprise can only survive if a militarily powerful Israel integrates into the Middle East at the cost of relinquishing most of the areas it occupied in 1967 and its rule over the 2.5 million Palestinians who inhabit them, and at the same time put universal humanitarian principles over Halacha, are a minority. The votes of Israel's Arab residents and of fringe groups like the anti-Zionists of Netorei Kar'a are insufficient to turn this minority into a majority.

Since a change in the above reality by the year 2000 is unlikely, what must Labor do?

Over the coming four years it must elect a new leader, one whose appeal goes beyond his natural constituency. Ramon, Barak and Uzi Baram are all suitable candidates.

But whether any of them can reverse the results of the 1996 elections will also depend on Netanyahu's own performance.

If he demonstrates understanding that continuing the peace process depends, inter alia, on his negotiators being able to deal with Palestinians as equals, on their establishing good relationships with their Palestinian counterparts; and if he realizes that further liberalization of the economy and bringing down social barriers cannot be entrusted in the hands of a man whose methods are Bolshevik and goals chauvinistic, the task of Labor's next leader will be that much more difficult.

The writer is a political scientist.

Two halves

SHACHAR LOSHINSKY

IT was a harrowing evening. No one was objective, no one was apathetic. It was war, and there were winners and losers. The winners were dancing up a storm, and the losers were sulking away from their headquarters, dragging posters behind them.

Who knew that the expressions adorning the faces glued to the TV sets would change so drastically? It can happen in a democracy. Every vote counts, and in the race for prime minister a few votes made all the difference.

The postmortems in the Labor Party began as soon as the tide turned in the middle of the fateful night between Wednesday and Thursday. The possible coalition and ministerial scenarios were analyzed in the Likud as soon as the tables turned, and the pollsters were sent home to relearn their trade. The people decided that the pollsters were wrong. It was democracy at work.

What boggles my mind isn't that a majority of citizens chose their future prime minister based on their own opinions and not someone else's; it's that the leader of this country was chosen by such a narrow margin. I am deeply concerned about the polarization this illustrates, but the system worked. It was working earlier in the evening when Shimon Peres was ahead in the polls, and it ultimately worked when it turned out that Binyamin Netanyahu was ahead in reality.

What upsets me is the view among those whose choice for premier didn't win that democracy was working when their candidate was ahead, and the fact that he didn't win shows democracy failed. Democracy isn't in the eye of the beholder.

Amid the music and celebrating taking place, albeit prematurely, at Labor headquarters, Yael Dayan was asked about the slight margin by which Peres was seemingly winning. Her answer: One vote alone above 50 percent was all that was necessary to give the present government the go-ahead to continue with its policies.

There was unconstrained glee at Meretz and Labor headquarters at the prospect of rushing ahead with plans that a large proportion of citizens were obviously uncomfortable with. There was no talk of the hopeless split in the nation that the results were indicating, only about the beauty of democracy. The majority, however slight, was paving the way for the winning team to go full speed ahead.

They must become whole. It's the only way

SEVERAL hours later, democracy took a beating. It was no longer the beautiful savior, but the puppet of manipulating voters who had the gall to choose another option.

Naomi Chazan, interviewed on IBA English News on Thursday evening, was no longer dancing. With a somber expression, the Meretz MK fervently bopped Netanyahu would realize the nation was split. She explained the importance of taking the losing half into consideration when determining policy. She sat there representing the battered half of a nation still in shock over the fact that other people were cautiously, optimistically, smiling.

I seldom agree with Chazan. However, I agree with her now. The country is split just about down the middle. Democracy did its job, but it wreaked havoc in the process. Now it's time to clean up the streets and begin a healing process crucial for a nation about to make historic decisions.

There must be a way to move ahead in the peace process without steamrolling over half the nation, to strengthen the Jewish character of the state without shoving religion down each other's throats.

The two halves must become whole. It's our only chance. Not because it is what the now-defeated side was planning, but because it's right.

Democracy isn't about beating each other. It's about everyone having a voice, and all voices being heard.

The writer is chairperson of the Department of English in the School for Overseas Students at the Hebrew University.

Polls, policy & the public

YOSEF GOELL

who were coming up with evidence that Peres was sure to lose because a majority of the public opposed his policies.

In the light of these readings, the official Labor campaign strategy expressed by the slogan "For a Strong Israel, With Peres," was eminently intelligent and reasonable - and eminently dishonest.

Democracy requires that the nation not be lied to

Did anyone in Labor consider the possibility that with the majority of the nation clearly opposing the extent to which the Rabin-Peres government had gone to implement the Oslo agreements, Peres ought perhaps to moderate his policy?

WHAT WAS needed was not a hypocritical attempt by Labor to become a Likud clone, but a fine-tuning of policy regarding those components to which a majority of the public was clearly opposed.

For the better part of a year opinion polls had indicated that a clear majority consistently opposed ceding the Golan Heights to Syria, even in exchange for a full peace; and were appalled by the failure to hold Arafat and the Palestinian Authority to their commitments to fight continuing terrorism and revoke the clauses in the PLO Charter calling for Israel's annihilation.

Following the Rabin assassination Labor and the left correctly demanded that the religious right, from whose educational milieu the

assassin sprang, had much soul-searching to do. Following these elections, which were touted both by Labor and the Likud as a popular referendum on the Oslo process, Labor and the left have much soul-searching to do on the true meaning of democracy.

This is all the more appropriate since Labor and the left have set themselves up as the defenders of true democracy in Israel against the anti-democratic tendencies attributed to the right and the religious parties.

Democracy doesn't mean that elected political leaders should always trim their policy sails to the vagaries of public opinion. But democracy does require that when a government's policies are submitted to the judgment of the electorate, the people should not be lied to.

In the 1992 elections Yitzhak Rabin clearly committed himself never to cede the Golan in negotiations with the Syrians, nor to negotiate with the PLO. He broke both promises.

But he clearly hoped that results in the interim would persuade a majority of the electorate of the correctness of his own change of mind by the time elections came around.

Netanyahu and the Likud also misled the electorate on the degree of their commitment to a "safe peace."

The difference between Labor's and the Likud's dishonesty is that with Labor the public was voting on a clear record of government policy, whereas with Netanyahu and the Likud we are dealing primarily with suspiciously well-founded intentions, well-founded or not.

The electorate's clear rejection of Peres and Labor should serve as a warning to Netanyahu. A skeptical public gave him the benefit of the doubt, in the expectation that he would deliver on his own promises by the next elections.

The writer comments on current affairs.

Handwritten signature: אהרון לוי

The World

A Media Campaign Most Russian and Most Unreal

By ALESSANDRA STANLEY

STRANGELY, there is a dreamy, subdued feel to the political ads of the main candidates contesting the Russian presidential election this month. Pivotal issues and starkly opposing ideologies are at stake, but that is not the message Russian viewers are receiving from their television sets.

As in the plays of Chekhov, there is very little action in the commercials of President Boris N. Yeltsin or his chief opponent, the Communist leader Gennadi A. Zyuganov. At a gentle pace, characters talk and talk, and then talk some more. And, as in the plays of Chekhov, behind the words lie fantasy and exquisite stagecraft.

Mr. Yeltsin does not have even a walk-on part in the 15 spots that seek to restore his fallen image. Instead, ordinary Russians — a farmer, a doctor, a housewife — recount their life stories over stirring music and a montage of old family snapshots — sepia-tinted evocations of weddings, wartime and babies. Finally, the protagonist appears, speaking earnestly into the camera. A wrinkled peasant woman reminisces about the long hours and food shortages on her Soviet collective. "Now," she says, "if you work, you can live."

Unlike "The Seagull" or "The Cherry Orchard," Mr. Yeltsin's drama in 15 acts puts forth the message

The ads' fanciful images help obscure the fear of election results like civil unrest.

that life in Russia isn't so bad after all, despite what polls and the Communists say. Though their indirection and goosebumpy emotional tug mostly recall General Electric ads ("We bring good things to life"), the sponsor is actually the President of Russia. The only pitch is a few words scrawled at the bottom of the screen. "I love, I believe, I hope. B.N. Yeltsin."

It is not all that surprising that candidates are putting forward warm, soothing images. More than anything else, voters fear that the election results may unleash civil unrest and yet another bout of instability and chaos. Mr. Yeltsin, Mr. Zyuganov and even the bad boy of Russian politics, Vladimir V. Zhirinovskiy, are all seeking to cast themselves as voices of reason and moderation. And television is the medium.

According to a survey by the All-Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion, 60 percent of Russians get



Gennadi A. Zyuganov, the Communist Party candidate, speaks to a "journalist" in his advertisement.



A photo from an elderly woman's album in a television commercial for Boris N. Yeltsin.



Vladimir V. Zhirinovskiy's spot has him ranting about imported "fried chicken" in the market.

their news from television. Only 18 percent of respondents said they read a newspaper every day, and only 17 percent said that mass media coverage of the elections "has no influence on me." Yet in comparison with more blasé voters in the West, Russians appear to remain quite interested in politics.

It is primarily through commercials that voters hear the messages of all the candidates, since commercials are the only means candidates have of obtaining anything close to "equal time." State-owned television news programs blatantly favor Mr. Yeltsin. So do those on privately owned networks. Mr. Yeltsin can afford not to show his face in his political ads — he dominates news programming. Even his strongest challenger, Mr. Zyuganov, is barely detectable on Russian news programs.

So candidates rely on commercials. In the campaign, each of the 11 contenders is awarded half an hour of free time on each of the three state-owned networks, and can also buy another half-hour. They can also buy as much time as they like on the two private networks. In the provinces, they are entitled to 30 minutes of free time and 30 minutes of paid time on local state-owned TV, and can buy time on private channels.

Mr. Yeltsin has another advantage: state television and many cable stations are airing jazzy spots for pro-Yeltsin concerts featuring Russia's top pop stars. The producers claim that because the spots do not mention Mr. Yeltsin by name — the logo, in shocking pink and green, is "Our President" — the ads are public-service messages. The concerts, moreover, are a tie-in to a daily MTV-style variety show aimed at getting out the youth vote, called "Choose or Lose," which is also considered public-service programming, though it looks uncannily like a Yeltsin promotion. "We don't hide what we want," Dmitri Tugarin, a program spokesman admitted cheerfully. "But formally, it's not a political show."

Mr. Zyuganov does not plan to air any paid advertisements on national TV until June 13, three days before the first round of voting. But he too has made surprisingly artistic use of his free TV time.

Unlike most other candidates, he wisely eschews the stiff format of the candidate reading a teleprompter in a studio. (Starting uncomfortably into the camera, the charismatic nationalist, former Gen. Aleksandr I. Lebed, appears so uptight and wan that he looks like a hostage reciting his captor's message at gunpoint.)

In Their Dreams

One of Mr. Zyuganov's commercials opens with a shot of a white barge sailing serenely down a river, another of a blue-and-gold church dome, and scenes of a giant crowd — orderly, young and happy (only a few red banners) — demonstrating in Moscow. The camera pans to a park, and there, seated on a bench, Mr. Zyuganov, in a dove-gray suit, speaks softly and thoughtfully: "I just want a man to be able to calmly get up in the morning and go to work knowing that he will be paid what he earned and if he worked well, that he will get support and encouragement." The camera pulls back to reveal the head of what appears to be a woman journalist. (Actually, the woman is an aide in his press office.)

"If the Communists come to power," she asks gently, "what will follow? Will they confiscate private property?" Mr. Zyuganov sighs knowingly. "If you start confiscating property tomorrow there will be shooting all over the country the day after. It will be 100 times more horrifying than Chechnya." He goes on to explain the need for a mixed economy.

The message is simple. This man is not a raving Marxist. But the ad also serves as wish-fulfillment. In his real TV interviews Mr. Zyuganov appears edgy and

evasive in the face of hostile questions. In his ads, he has staged the journalistic encounter of his dreams.

Of course, there is plenty of fantasy in Mr. Yeltsin's vignettes as well, namely that people all over Russia are contemplative and content, and mostly worried about a return to Soviet-era hardships.

Video International, the Russian ad agency producing Mr. Yeltsin's spots, did not hire actors. Its market research director, Mikhail Margelov, explained that it sent advance crews across the country, scouring small towns and cities for photogenic people willing to speak on behalf of the President. The crews filmed each potential subject for hours. They also screened each vignette before focus groups. (A sailor who said he was perfectly satisfied with his salary was rejected because focus groups found the claim totally unbelievable.)

Grigori Yavlinsky, the liberal economist and presidential candidate, favors montages of postcards of real people writing him kind words of hope and encouragement. Even the tempestuous, rabble-rousing Mr. Zhirinovskiy is seeking to ease anxiety.

Famous for his irreverent and often risqué political ads, Mr. Zhirinovskiy in this election is sharing his inner child with viewers. Along with old baby pictures, one of his free commercials recreates his mother's deathbed scene. The viewer sees the back of Mr. Zhirinovskiy's head — actually, the head of an actor — leaning forward to hear the faint last words of his mother, played by an actress: "Life has passed, Volodya, and nothing to remember, not a single bappy day."

Mr. Zhirinovskiy has not undergone a complete change of identity. In one of his 30-second paid ads, he is his old self: picking up a frozen chicken at a market, he reads the English-language label — "fried chicken" — and screams at the vendor, "There, see! This is how we are destroying our own agriculture."

Israel's Decision Shuts One Path to Peace

Continued From Page 1

Dennis Ross and Aaron Miller, saw the danger. They feared in January that elections might backfire, as Mr. Peres was belatedly giving in to the temptation to call an early election.

Mr. Peres was hoping finally to win a mandate of his own as Prime Minister after a series of humiliating failures. But the Americans were more interested in an Israeli-Syrian peace by November, in time to help Mr. Clinton's re-election campaign. They thought they had a commitment from Mr. Assad to press ahead. And they knew the three-month Israeli election campaign would put a halt to serious negotiations.

They also worried quietly that all elections involve risks and that Mr. Peres had a reputation among Israelis as a devious intriguer. They worried about the possibility of terrorism from the Palestinians or Hamas and the Shiite Muslim Lebanese of Hezbollah, backed by Iran and Syria.

But while the Americans worried and advised, they could not really interfere with the democratic workings of so close an ally. And Mr. Peres, as so often in the past, got his timing wrong.

Rather than moving immediately to exploit the outrage over the Nov. 4 assassination of Yitzhak Rabin by calling elections last winter, Mr. Peres, a European-born intellectual, thought it unseemly. By the time he gave in to the sirens' song and called an early election, it was too late.

Some have suggested that the American effort to bring a final peace to the Middle East — a bipartisan effort that Mr. Ross and Mr. Miller began under George Bush — never accomplished as much as the force of history, with the Soviet collapse increasing Palestinian desperation even as Israel grew wealthy. It was the Norwegians who brought the Israelis and Pal-

estines together for the Oslo accords, and the peace with Jordan was more the work of King Hussein and Mr. Peres than of Mr. Clinton.

But the Americans acted as the impresarios, and their labors this year to keep the process going have been extraordinary. Understanding that the central requirement was to assuage the fears of Israelis after the death of Mr. Rabin and to persuade them to vote for Mr. Peres, the Administration threw evenhandedness out the window of the incessant peace shuttle.

When Hamas suicide bombers killed 63 people in March and Mr. Peres's ratings plummeted, Mr. Clinton organized the Sham el-Sheik summit meeting and made another moving, pastoral visit to Israel. As important, the Administration supported without criticism or any nod to Arab sentiments the efforts of Mr. Peres to act tough.

No Prizes

In the end nothing was quite enough, and now for Mr. Clinton the election results only compound a season of worry about Bosnia, Russia and the newly enlivened Whitewater investigation. The prize with which both Mr. Peres, 72, and Mr. Christopher, 70, wanted to cap their careers seems to have escaped them. Perhaps they had oversold it to themselves.

Some suggest that Mr. Ross and Mr. Miller, too, might be getting stale, and a new style of diplomacy might work better. But that misses the point. They are all correct in believing that history is pressing hard for a comprehensive regional peace.

But the moment is obviously not yet. In both the Arab world and Israel, the fearful circle of skeptics is still too large for the circle of peace. Mr. Assad is not ready. Nor, it seems, is a sharply divided Israel.



A young Israeli girl pays her respects last Thursday at the grave of Yitzhak Rabin.

Looking for Volunteers

Yeltsin's American-Style Army

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

IT was the political equivalent of a sneak attack. With virtually no warning, President Boris N. Yeltsin this month stunned his opponents in the presidential election campaign, and many in Russia's armed forces, by announcing that conscription would be abolished by the year 2000.

Though less dramatic than his signing of a cease-fire last week in the unpopular and grinding war in Chechnya, Mr. Yeltsin's promise potentially has far-reaching consequences: Russia's much-vaunted military tradition would be put aside, and its maligned, cash-strapped but still sizable armed forces would become an all-volunteer military.

Coupled with his order that Russian soldiers no longer be sent to trouble spots without their permission, Mr. Yeltsin's move looked like a brazen ploy to exploit the war-weariness of Russians at the polls two weeks from today; the President himself, after all, contributed to the malaise by starting the Chechen war in the first place. But he has put the complex question of the Russian national character on the table in a politically shrewd way.

Seeking to outflank his nationalist opponents and hard-line generals, who extol the virtues of selfless service to the state and say Russia needs a large force of conscripts, Mr. Yeltsin is instead appealing to anxious, draft-age Russian youth and their parents, who care less about losing Russian glory than losing Russian lives in support of costly, embarrassing adventures in Chechnya, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

"This move is not supported broadly by the generals," said Alexei Arbatov, a military expert with the liberal Yabloko party and member of Parliament. Rather, he said, "this move is directed at the youth."

The Communists, playing to Russia's military-industrial complex, have assailed Mr. Yeltsin's moves, though this appears to have done him little good with the voters.

But many Western experts and Russian reformers believe a professional Russian army is long overdue.

The American military underwent a transition to professional armed forces after the Vietnam war. Senior American officers say a well-trained cohort of volunteers is best suited for the increasingly complex challenges of high-tech warfare.

France, where obligatory military service dates to the days of the French Revolution, recently announced that it was ending conscription, saying it would reduce its 500,000-member military to an all-volunteer



One Russian soldier was overcome after learning a friend was killed in fighting against Chechen rebels earlier this year.

force of 350,000 by 2002.

In the aftermath of the cold war, Russia's military, once more than five million strong, has been reduced to 1.7 million, according to official Russian figures (some Western experts say the real number may be closer to 1.2 million).

The President appreciates his country's war-weariness, especially as election day nears.

With most conscripts declining to re-enlist after their mandatory two-year tours are up, the Russian military has found it difficult to retain qualified and experienced soldiers — a serious liability contributing to its embarrassing setbacks in Chechnya. It has supplemented the use of conscripts by signing contracts with 270,000 volunteers, but they are often poorly paid, and many have been reluctant to make a career out of the military.

An adequately paid professional force

would presumably overcome both problems, but Russian reformers say Mr. Yeltsin needs to do much more than issue politically palatable decrees.

They say the establishment of a volunteer military should be part of a broader effort to restructure the armed forces, reducing them to fewer than one million while substantially increasing the military budget. The budget is now \$16 billion, according to specialists on Parliament's budget committee.

Money Woes

In fact, much of the military grumbling over Mr. Yeltsin's initiative reflects not only unhappiness over the prospect of diminished status for the armed forces, but grave skepticism over whether the Russian Government, which already has trouble paying back wages to its workers, will come up with the necessary funds.

"It is purely a populist decree and nothing will be achieved," Aleksandr I. Lebed, the retired general and presidential candidate, said, reflecting the view of many in the armed forces. "In order to have a professional army, one must have a powerful economy. Our economy is half

alive, semi-collapsed and standing on its knees."

Dmitri V. Trenin, a former Army officer and military expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, disagreed. He said that a volunteer force was a goal worth striving for, though he asserted that Mr. Yeltsin's plan to create a professional military by the year 2000 was wildly unrealistic.

"Sure, building an all-volunteer force is a costly proposition," Mr. Trenin said. "But there is no sense in delay. The longer you delay the more difficult it will be at the end of day, and the degradation of Soviet military establishment continues at a high rate."

Ultimately, however, the fate of Mr. Yeltsin's plan may turn less on professional disputes over the structure and purpose of the armed forces than on the military's self-image.

Will the Russian military cling to its old traditions or seek a new relationship with the rest of Russian society?

Though many officers resist such a change, Boris Gromov, the general who led Russian forces out of Afghanistan and who has been prominently mentioned as a potential successor to Gen. Pavel Grachev, the unpopular Defense Minister, is four-square behind the move.

The Russian military needs "professionals rather than kids," he declared in a recent television interview.

With a professional military, he added, there would be "less mothers' tears."

02/01/96

The Nation

Whitewater Enters Its Season of Danger

By STEPHEN LABATON

BURIED in an otherwise mundane letter three weeks ago, Kenneth W. Starr, the independent counsel investigating the Whitewater affair, dismissed the White House's single most important political defense, and offered a tantalizing new clue about the direction of his secretive inquiry.

In the letter, Mr. Starr made clear that his office disagreed with a Government report that the Clintons have said vindicates them of wrongdoing. That report found no evidence that President Clinton, Hillary Rodham Clinton or others had been involved in improperly diverting money from an ailing savings association into the Whitewater land venture.

"The people doing that report did some good work," the usually taciturn prosecutor quoted his deputy, the day-to-day supervisor of the investigation, as saying. "However, they were doing it from a different perspective than what we're doing. We would not agree with all their conclusions. We do have some facts that they apparently did not have."

There was no elaboration on the report, prepared by regulators and the law firm of Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro. But it's now clear that this will hardly be the final word on Whitewater.

After the fraud convictions last week of the Governor of Arkansas and the President and First Lady's former business partners — the first verdict in the 30-month Whitewater inquiry — the questions now are 1) what's next? and 2) how much new legal or political danger do the Clintons themselves face?

Judging by the Starr letter and other recent events, the answers are 1) a lot, and 2) same as answer 1.

It may be months before Mr. Starr finishes his

inquiry, and it still could end without new indictments. But consider what has happened in the last few weeks, and what is scheduled to occur over the next month.

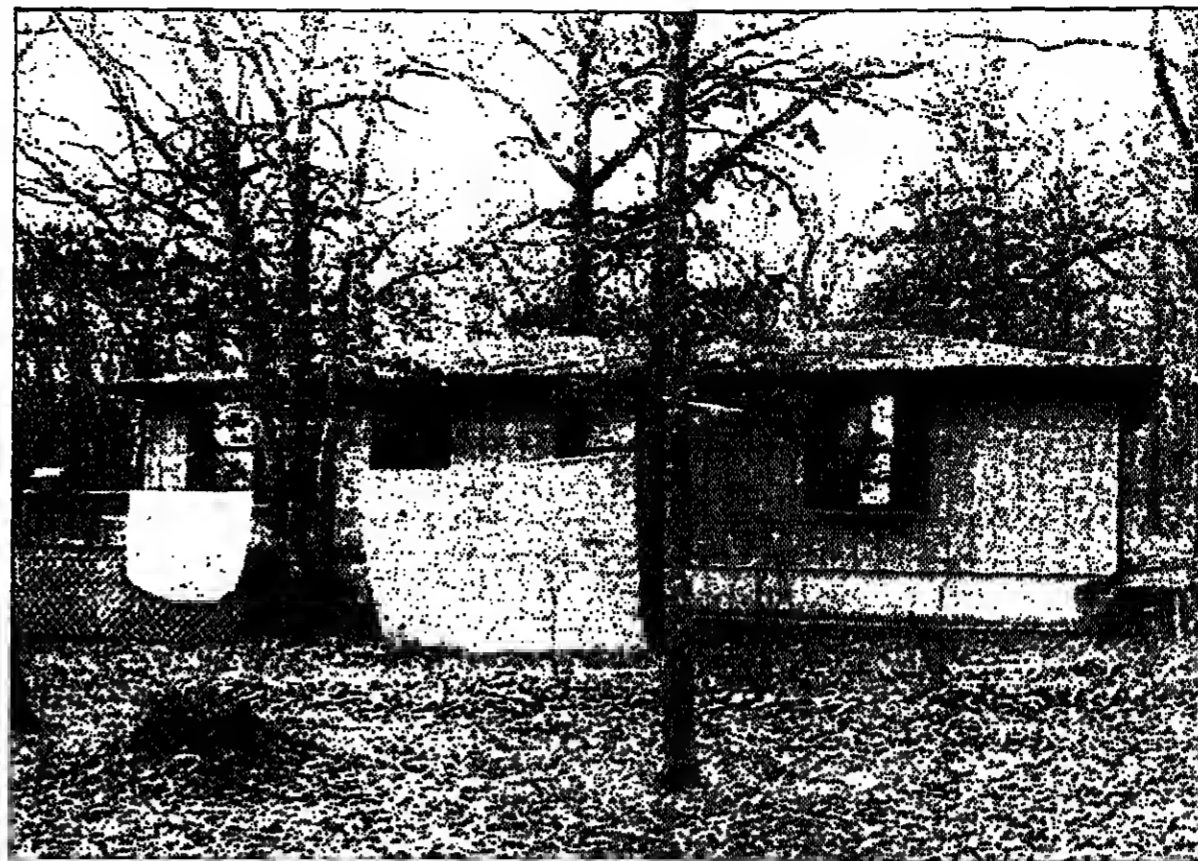
Mr. Clinton has provided sworn testimony that he played no role in what a jury of 12 Arkansans has concluded was a fraudulent \$300,000 loan, almost \$50,000 of which was used for Whitewater expenses. The Clintons' ex-business partners, James McDougal and his former wife, Susan, now face significant prison time and enormous pressure to cut a deal for leniency.

Of course, even if they decide to reverse themselves and implicate others, the McDougals would face huge credibility problems now that they are convicted felons. Still, other witnesses in the investigation who have not been convicted, wary of Mr. Starr's newly emboldened staff, may be encouraged to offer more evidence than they have to date; they now know there is not necessarily a home-court advantage when the independent counsel decides to make a Federal case in Arkansas.

More Video Testimony

A new grand jury was convened in Little Rock last month — apparently a new phase in Mr. Starr's inquiry, since some prospective jurors were reported to have been asked by prosecutors what they knew of various Whitewater matters. And a separate grand jury in Washington continues to examine whether anyone at the White House obstructed justice by failing to turn over copies of billing records from Mrs. Clinton's law firm. The records describe Mrs. Clinton's legal work for the savings association operated by the McDougals.

On June 17, two Arkansas bankers appointed to patronage jobs by Gov. Bill Clinton will go on trial for laundering money in his 1990 gubernatorial campaign. The President has been subpoenaed to testify, and the White House says he intends to provide a videotaped



In 1994, owners of a model home on the Whitewater tract hung a sign urging reporters, "Go Home Idiots."

deposition, like he did in the trial just concluded.

White House aides have said the President had no knowledge of any improper conduct by the bankers. Still, Mr. Clinton's deposition will create yet another record of presidential testimony for aggressive prosecutors to scrutinize. (He is already opposing efforts by TV networks to obtain copies of the first deposition.)

Around the time the money-laundering trial begins, the Senate Whitewater Committee is expected to conclude its work and issue a report. The committee's chairman, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, said in an interview last week that he intends to seek a vote to grant immunity to David Hale, a self-confessed felon who was sentenced to spend 28 months in prison. Mr. Hale has already testified in the McDougal case that he was asked by Mr. Clinton to make the \$300,000 Federally

backed loan to Mrs. McDougal, a loan that was supposed to be made only to the economically disadvantaged.

Senator D'Amato last week wrote Mr. Starr asking whether granting immunity to Mr. Hale and having him testify would impede the counsel's investigation. But even if Mr. Starr gives Mr. D'Amato the go-ahead, the Whitewater committee isn't likely to muster the three Democratic votes for the two-thirds majority it would need to grant immunity to Mr. Hale.

Beyond the fray in Congress, Mr. Starr's staff shows no signs of letting up. Four years ago, Mr. Clinton's presidential campaign concluded that it had put Whitewater behind it. Now, with Mr. Clinton again preparing to claim his party's nomination, Mr. Starr has just hired more prosecutors, hardly the kind of thing done by an independent counsel winding up his business.

A Stickler on Correctness

Ahem, About That Olympic Route

By KEVIN SACK

TO: Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games. Re: Proposed route for the Olympic torch relay.

As we all know, the ideal of an apolitical Olympics has grown a bit antiquated over the decades, what with its history of Hitler tributes, black power salutes, Palestinian terrorist attacks and national boycotts. This year, although the Games do not start for another seven weeks, there have been few pretensions.

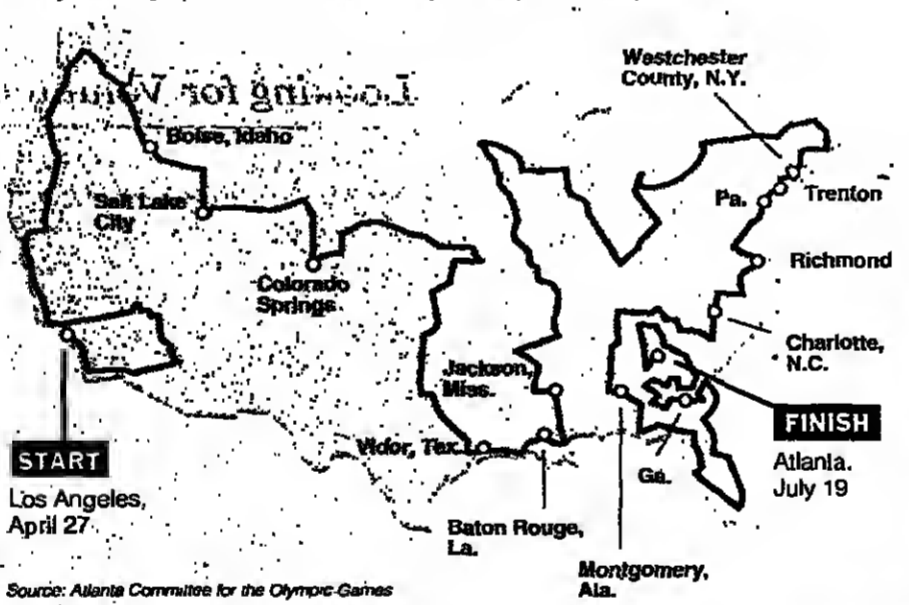
We speak, of course, of the 1996 Olympic torch relay, which began in Los Angeles on April 27. Already, a decision has been made to bypass Cobb County, Ga., the suburban Atlanta community that in 1993 defiantly approved a resolution condemning homosexuality as incompatible with community standards. Wayne County, Ga., and Spartanburg County and Greenville County, S.C., have passed similar resolutions, but the first two rescinded them after being threatened by the Olympic committee.

Consider this a call for consistency. Given its stand on anti-gay legislation, how can the committee let the torch travel through other communities that have supported such affronts to political correctness?

You have done well by keeping the torch far away from Montana. But other objectionable places have slipped past your Olympic committee researchers. The following is a partial list of spots on the official route that might also be avoided:

Torch Carriers Beware

This year's Olympic torch route is full of politically incorrect potholes.



Source: Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games

The New York Times



Dan Hallmark carries the Olympic torch in Beaumont, Texas.

F. Carter Smith for The New York Times

Boise, Idaho Home to Representative Helen Chenoweth, perhaps the most conservative member of the freshman Republican class. Has referred to white Anglo-Saxon males as an "endangered species." Supports the Confederacy's position in the Civil War on the grounds of states' rights. Hosted an "endangered salmon bake" during her 1994 campaign.

Salt Lake City Utah adopted legislation in March that would ban same-sex marriages, the first of many states to do so.

Colorado Springs This community gave birth to the Colorado ballot initiative that outlawed local ordinances prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals, a measure recently rejected by the Supreme Court. So what if this is the home town of the United States Olympic Committee?

Vidor, Tex. Ku Klux Klan hotbed where Federal marshals were called in to protect four black families that moved into a white housing project in 1994. No blacks had lived there in 60 years.

Baton Rouge, La. Capital where the new Republican Governor, Mike Foster, announced upon taking office that he would rid the state of affirmative action.

Jackson, Miss. Residence of Gov. Kirk Fordice, who once referred to the United States of America as "a Christian nation."

Westchester County, N.Y. What? Allow the torch relay — fully funded by Atlanta-based Coca-Cola — to spend an afternoon in the corporate home of PepsiCo?

Trenton Closest city to the Howard Stern Rest Stop on Interstate 285, dedicated in 1995 by Gov. Christine Todd Whitman to fulfill a campaign promise to the frequently offensive radio host.

Pennsylvania Considered by the National

Abortion Rights Action League to be ground zero in the war against abortion rights. Birthplace of Planned Parenthood v. Casey, the 1992 Supreme Court decision that upheld the state's right to restrict abortion by requiring parental consent for teen-agers and a 24-hour waiting period.

Richmond Legislature and Governor approved a bill this year that prohibits the state from suing tobacco companies to recoup the cost of treating Medicaid recipients with lung cancer, emphysema and other smoking-related illnesses.

Charlotte, N.C. Home of the Rev. Joseph Chambers, the fundamentalist preacher who tried this year to close a production of the play "Angels in America," because of its homosexual theme and obscenities. Mr. Chambers' previous targets have included "Barney and Friends," which he describes as "clearly occultic," and "The Lion King," which he assails for "voodooism."

Montgomery, Ala. Capital where Senator Charles Davidson, a Republican candidate

for Congress, issued a statement last month asserting that slavery was justified by the Bible and that it had been good for black Americans. Mr. Davidson was drumming up support for his bill to fly the Confederate flag over the Capitol. Also, the state board of education, under pressure from Gov. Fob James, approved a policy this year requiring teachers to teach evolution as theory rather than as fact.

Georgia This one is a bit problematic, of course, since \$1.7 billion has been invested in staging the Games here. But how can you overlook the state's vigorous defense of the anti-sodomy statute that eventually won the backing of the Supreme Court in 1986?

Clearly, plotting a politically correct route for the torch relay can be problematic. But if planes and helicopters were used to hopscotch over offending territory, a path could be traced from Honolulu to San Francisco to Berkeley to Seattle to Madison to Ann Arbor to Cambridge to New York City (avoid Staten Island please) and finally to Atlanta. Let the Games begin!

Candidates, Yes. But for Parenthood?

Continued From Page 1

interviewed by an adoption social worker. They might want to consult a list distributed by Merle Bombardieri, an infertility counselor in Lexington, Mass., consisting of questions that prospective parents are likely to be asked in a home study.

The dwelling itself would be examined, noted Ms. Bombardieri (social workers have been known to whip out tape measures to measure rooms). If Mr. Clinton prevails in November, certainly the child would have his or her own bedroom in a really, really big house for the next four years. But what if Mr. Clinton is suddenly unemployed? The Clintons do not have another home.

Social worker consults checklist, shakes head. Frowns.

In that event, the follow-up questions would undoubtedly be: What would be Mrs. Clinton's source of income? Would Mr. Clinton resume her career as a lawyer? Couple nods eagerly.

Ominous silence. Then: Does that mean Mrs. Clinton would not stay home with the child for at least six months?

Are any legal actions pending against either of them? A Ms. Jones?

A social worker would probably interview the Clintons several times, together and separately, about what they admire about each other and what they would change about each other they could, about their criticisms of how they were raised, their domestic habits (who does the dishes?), their use of contraceptives (why not? you're not secretly hoping to have a baby the other way, are you? do you consider adoption second-best?), work hours, religious commitment, opinions on spanking.

And whose idea is it to adopt? Is this a mutual decision, or is one spouse just going along because the other is adamant?

Ms. Bombardieri said the Clintons would also be asked: why now? "What has changed about your life?" Ms. Bombardieri continued, hypothetically. "You have a 16-year-old daughter. Are you adopting as a way of running away from empty-nest syndrome? Are you denying your own aging? Do you feel that by holding a 4-month-old on your shoulder, you'll look and feel younger and more vibrant?"

Chelsea Clinton would also be interviewed, said Kathie Stocker, an adoption social worker with Holt International Children's Services, based in Eugene, Ore.: "I would ask Chelsea what kind of rules there are in her family, what happens when she doesn't follow them, and what she likes and doesn't like about living under such a tremendous amount of public scrutiny."

Be Flexible

The Clintons would be asked about backgrounds of children who might be placed with them. The likelihood is slim that an agency would place a healthy white infant with the Clintons: their ages (she is 48, he 49) are a barrier. There are so many thousands of couples who want to adopt from the scarce pool of white infants, said Ms. Harder, "that agencies use age as a subtle case-management technique." Most agencies require that adoptive parents be 40 or under.

Unless, of course, the Clintons would be willing, in the delicate euphemism used by social workers, to be "flexible." Translation: willing to take a mixed-race baby, an older child who has languished in foster care, or one with disabilities.

"The policy makes absolutely no sense," said Ms. Stocker. "That means that people who are older or who are single have to take kids that might be harder to care for."

child from many foreign countries. They meet the limit for a baby girl from China — their combined ages are less than 100 — but because they already have a child, they might be offered a daughter with a medical problem like rickets or crossed eyes.

Thousands of Americans over 40 do adopt healthy white infants every year through private channels, said Ms. Stocker, by hiring a lawyer to do the search or placing their own classified ads in small-town newspapers. ("Loving Christian couple wants to make a home for your special baby: large white house, cat, big sister. Call 1-800-....") Under such circumstances, the birth mother would decide whether to place her baby with the Clintons or another couple.

Jean Grumet, a New York-area lawyer who with her husband, after years of tribulations, adopted when she was in her 40's, is rooting for the Clintons. "I'd say follow your heart and go for it," she said. "It's worth all the aggravation. And there is aggravation."

Time Out

Although most of the questions that would face the Clintons as adoptive parents are of a profoundly private nature, one lingers that is in the national interest. Soon after taking office in 1993, Mr. Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, guaranteeing workers 12 weeks of unpaid leave for personal matters, including adoption.

Inquiring Americans want to know: how much time off would the First Father take?

What We're Really Looking for ...

Common mistakes made by prospective adoptive parents in home interviews:

- To admit that you are still trying for a pregnancy.
- To admit that one of you was dragged in by the other and has no interest in adoption.
- To use the home study as a forum for your doubts and fears about adoptive parenting.
- For husband and wife to say conflicting things in their individual sessions or for your answers in your application not to match your face-to-face answers.
- To talk too much, thereby revealing information you wish you hadn't.
- To be angry rather than confident, persuasive, assertive. Few people get through a home study without getting furious at somebody or something.
- To be apologetic, defensive, rather than confident, persuasive, assertive.
- To mention problems that your worker never asked about.
- To pretend that infertility didn't hurt. It was no big deal, there was nothing to grieve over.
- To assume that honesty is the best policy.

Source: Dana Clapp and Merle Bombardieri

The New York Times

Ideas & Trends

Prison: Where the Money Is

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

CAN society afford to eliminate crime?

No, on two counts, says Mark A. Cohen, an economics professor at Vanderbilt University's Owen Graduate School of Management. "Society cannot afford a zero crime rate," he said. "We would bankrupt ourselves, and we'd also have a society we wouldn't like." The society created, he said, would resemble the old Soviet Union.

Yet Mr. Cohen's own studies, which estimate that crime costs this country roughly \$500 billion a year, including costs to victims and the price of running prisons, leave a nagging question in a campaign year when the issue has already been injected into Presidential politics: Ideology aside, what is the most efficient way to reduce crime? Mr. Cohen's calculations have ignited a debate among academic experts, law enforcement officials and politicians.

"Whether his estimate is exactly right or is off by \$100 billion doesn't matter because we know the number is so big," said David Rasmussen, a professor of economics at Florida State University who has evaluated crime costs for the Florida Legislature. "The real question is not the exact dollar figure, but how we could use it to run our prison system more effectively or establish more crime prevention programs."

Important results might be gleaned from economic studies of the most effective way to reduce crime, said Jeffrey Roth, a principal research associate at the Urban Institute. "The real question is where will you produce the most crime reduction for a dollar spent," Mr. Roth said. "This is not a liberal versus conservative question. It's a bang for the buck question."

The stakes in this argument are high

because a number of states find themselves squeezed between an angry public's demand for getting tough on crime and the escalating costs of building more prisons. This year, for the first time, California is spending more for building and operating prisons than for its vaunted public colleges and universities. Prisons are the fastest growing item in almost all state budgets.

But is \$500 billion a realistic figure? Some criminologists not only criticize such estimates as excessive but say economists like Mr. Cohen use arbitrary and inconsistent calculations. Mr. Cohen's recent report, prepared for the Justice Department, included intangible factors like pain and suffering and reduced quality of life, which he based on jury awards; he calculated that the annual total came to \$450 billion.

Another \$40 to \$50 billion came from the costs of running state and Federal prisons and local jails, bringing the total close to \$500 billion. This figure excludes the losses in poor, high-crime neighborhoods from depressed property values, disinvestment and shuttered businesses.

Cost Analysis

Franklin Zimring, director of the Earl Warren Legal Institute at the University of California at Berkeley, who calls the \$500 billion estimate a "phony number" and "junk science," is worried that by fixing the cost of crime so high, the building of prisons look like a cheap and therefore more politically palatable answer to crime.

Most earlier studies of this issue have merely attempted to look at whether prisons pay for themselves. John J. Dilulio Jr., a professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton University, has concluded that prison does pay after surveys of inmates in New Jersey and Wisconsin state prisons. Mr. Dilulio found that inmates there had com-

mitted 12 or more crimes in the year before their incarceration, excluding drug offenses. Given the cost of \$25,000 to keep a prisoner behind bars for a year, he said that for every dollar spent to keep a prisoner locked up, "society saves at least \$2.80 in the social costs of crimes averted."

The conventional wisdom these days is to keep criminals in prison longer. Mr. Cohen, who has studied the cost benefits of prison terms, said that while a longer sentence would be economically efficient in reducing rape, assault and automobile theft, it would not be in diminishing burglary and larceny. The cost of added time for these two crimes, he said, would be greater to society than the price of the crimes committed.

A forthcoming study by Peter Greenwood of the Rand Corporation attempts to measure the relative cost efficiency of prevention versus prison. An examination of four prevention programs in different states, including Head Start, a parent training program, a program to keep high-risk juveniles in high school and an experimental program with 12- and 13-year-old delinquents, found that these programs "would be twice or three times as cost effective as just putting people in prison," he said.

In a study soon to be published, Mr. Cohen estimates that preventing a high-risk youth, so called because he comes from a troubled family and a bad neighborhood, from becoming a career criminal would save society \$1.5 million to \$2 million.

Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Cohen acknowledge that prevention is a long-term policy, and that the public and politicians want immediate benefits. Another difficulty is that Americans appear to be willing to tolerate government if it means more prisons but not new social programs.

Mr. Greenwood, however, believes: "If we can afford to build prisons, we can afford prevention. It would save prison cells later."



Leg irons in a California jail. The state spends more on prisons than on its colleges.

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On Skinning Schrödinger's Cat

By GEORGE JOHNSON

THOSE who follow physics the way other people follow baseball quietly cheered at the news last week that scientists had finally skinned Schrödinger's cat.

In 1935, hoping to make some sense of one of the paradoxes of quantum theory — in which subatomic stuff can act like both waves and particles and be in more than one place at a time — the great Austrian physicist Erwin Schrödinger proposed a famous thought experiment. We are asked to imagine a cat trapped in a box with a glass vial of poison. Nearby lies a chunk of radioactive material, like uranium. If an atom of the uranium decays, an electronic detector will trip a hammer that smashes the vial and kills the cat.

Now according to a cherished tenet of quantum mechanics, uranium atoms, unlike marbles or baseballs, cannot be said to be in a definite state — decayed or undecayed — until they are observed. Before that, the atoms hover in a quantum limbo, stuck in both possible states at the same time.

Here's what Schrödinger playfully proposed: It is only when we open the box and make the observation that the uranium emerges from this netherworld and makes up its mind. So why can't the same be said for the poor cat?

Until we lift the lid and peer inside, Schrödinger wrote, the hapless creature will be both dead and alive — "mixed or smeared out (pardon the expression) in equal parts." A uranium atom may have indeed decayed, spilling the poison, but it will be our observation that kills the cat.

What's often lost in the retelling is that Schrödinger didn't believe the story for a minute. He was subtly ridiculing some of his mystical colleagues who liked to proclaim that conscious observers somehow conjure the real world into existence.

While some physicists still hold that self-centered view, most have come to believe that an inanimate measuring device, like the electronic detector in the cat experiment, can instantaneously make the "observation," removing the quantum uncertainty. There is no need to open the box to kill the cat. But the thought experiment still creeps

Until an electron is measured, it spins in two directions at once.

up often enough among science-fiction fans (quantum doppelgängers being a favorite Star Trek theme) to drive some physicists crazy. "When I hear about Schrödinger's cat," Stephen Hawking once said, "I reach for my gun."

Still, not even the most cat-hating physicist disputes that the world down under is a funny place, as was confirmed once again by last week's announcement. The newly unveiled experiment hinges on the notion that an electron can "spin" (for lack of a better word) either clockwise or counterclockwise. And until it is measured, it will spin in both directions at once.

Scientists at the National Institute of Standards and Technology in Boulder, Colo., bombarded a charged atom, or ion, of a substance called beryllium so that the single

electron in its outer shell rapidly alternated between a clockwise and counterclockwise spin. Then, the scientists tell us, they used their laser tweezers to pull apart the two states of the very same atom.

Ghostly Dervishes

The result was a pair of ghostly dervishes, whirling side by side in opposite directions. It was as though a light bulb suddenly turned into two bulbs, one on and one off — or a cat managed somehow to be both dead and alive.

The question is where in the progression from atoms to objects do the quantum effects leave off and where does hard-edged reality begin? How do the weird rules of the quantum realm give rise to the rock-solid, either-or certainty in what we quaintly call the real world?

The uranium atom can be simultaneously decayed and undecayed and the beryllium atom can have its electron spinning both

Where quantum effects leave off and hard reality begins.

clockwise and counterclockwise. But the cat has to be either dead or alive.

One currently popular answer is that things can remain in quantum limbo only so long as they are isolated from the rest of the universe. Once the electron brushes against something else, its two states, clockwise and counterclockwise, come unstuck and we're left with an electron that is spinning one way or the other. As for the cat, its atoms are constantly interacting with one another and with the surrounding atmosphere — all these tiny, inanimate "observations" anchoring it in the land of either-or.

But there is still more mystery to come. Once the electron is observed, assuming one of the two possible states, where does the other one go? According to one interpretation of quantum theory, the universe splits into two universes — one in which the electron is turning clockwise, the other counterclockwise. In each is a physicist observing a different outcome.

Absurd as that sounds, it is what the equations imply. The difficulty comes in trying to translate them into our barn-fisted language. Our brains didn't grow up down there so we can probably never really get it.

The electron, after all, isn't a particle or a wave but some barely fathomable amalgam. And it's not really clear what it means for one of these "wavicles" to spin. What then can we make of the notion that scientists pulled apart two states of a beryllium atom? Here's how they described it in the May 24 issue of Science: They "entangled" the "internal (electronic) and external (motional) states of the ion" and verified the result by detecting "the quantum mechanical interference between the localized wave packets."

No doubt it's much clearer to those who understand the table of equations published alongside.

Trying to capture the physicists' precise mathematical description of the quantum world with our crude words and mental images is like playing Chopin with a boxing glove on one hand and a catcher's mitt on the other. The scientists win at the discourses, covering their ears as they silently sight-sing along with the written score.

**Drive carefully!
arrive safely!**

02-241282

ECONOMY

A Hollywood Star Moves Out; The Aura Lives On

By DAVID J. MORROW

TALK about frustration. You've been shopping for a home, and despite having serious money to spend, you have yet to see the house of your dreams. Is it too much to ask for something special? Something with bragging rights, something that would make friends ooh and aah? Well, then, consider these gems now on the market here:

• A 30-room pleasure palace built to please Cher herself and rivaling the pyramids, yours for \$9.9 million. Cleopatra may have lived in more understated digs. Among Cher's toys still in residence: a retractable living-room roof and a moat filled with footlong Japanese carp.

• Too costly? Eva Gabor's \$2.5 million estate may better fit your budget. The house has Hollywood necessities like a screening room and heated towel racks, but it may take some getting used to. The place has not been aired out in a while and has the musty smell of an attic. If friends ask about the odor, change the subject; tell them Frank Sinatra once lived there.

• Still out of your price range? For a mere \$569,000, about what you'd pay for a center-hall Colonial in Scarsdale, you could have Mike Farrell's cottage in the San Fernando Valley. Unfortunately, Mr. Farrell, the former "M*A*S*H" star, bought a house near two busy freeways, but the perks more than make up for the noise. Liberace's former home — complete with a piano-shaped pool out back — is right next door.

For people who have always wanted to own a celebrity home, now may be the time to snap one up. The selection of celebrity estates — luxury homes that entertainment or sports icons have either owned or lived in — has rarely been broader. Sales of celebrity homes in Los Angeles County are increasing — up 4 percent through April, compared with the period a year earlier, according to TRW Red Property Data — prompting more stars to put their homes on the market.

Best yet, many buyers are discovering that they can afford to buy a celebrity home. "It's a myth that all celebrities live on multimillion estates," said Sonya Fox, a real estate agent with Prudential/Jon Douglas in the Encino area of Los Angeles. "Some celebrity homes are simple three-bedroom houses. And that's good for the buyer because celebrity homes really do come in all price ranges."

Sure enough, a survey of six top celebrity home brokers in Southern California found that each had at least three celebrity listings, including some that might be seen as bargains. To take one example, Kirk Cameron, known in earlier years as the star of "Growing Pains," recently

dropped the price on his three-bedroom bungalow near Beverly Hills to about \$1 million, from \$1.5 million.

Much of the momentum can be traced to the health of the Hollywood machine. There are more celebrities than ever before, thanks to the flowering of new media from cable television to the Internet. All that has created a large number of people who trade houses like stocks, moving into large estates when their careers rise and scaling back when their fortunes fall.

For many stars, only Beverly Hills or Bel Air will do once they become truly successful, said Fred Sands, president of Fred Sands Realty in the Brentwood district. "Most celebrities start out small and then work their way up," he said.

Fortunately for buyers, celebrities are not immune to life's ups and downs. Many stars, for instance, sell their homes after a divorce to raise money. Roseanne, who no longer uses the name Barr, recently sold one of her two Brentwood homes for around \$3.5 million after she and her current husband, Ben Thomas, decided they did not want to raise their 16-month-old son in a big city like Los Angeles. The other house is still on the market for \$2.8 million, down from \$3.2 million. The comedian declined to comment.

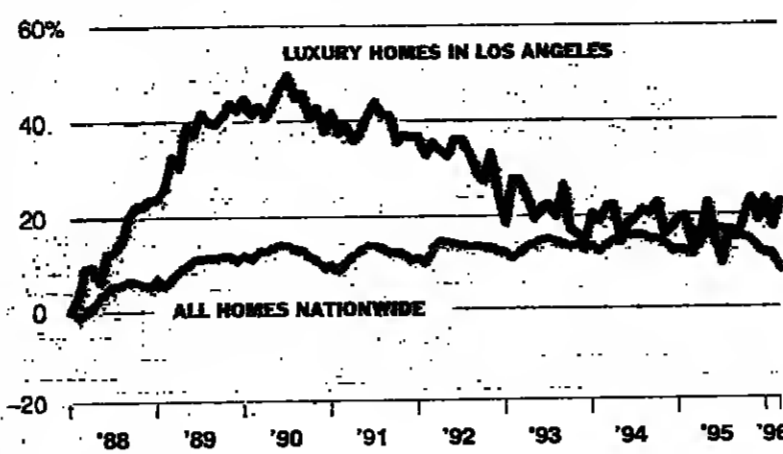
For other stars, home swapping is a lucrative hobby. That is because whoever might live there now, a part of the star will always remain with the palace. Only a wrecking ball could remove Cher from her Egyptian monolith. Her presence is so apparent in the flamboyant design — from the stone palm trees that surround the trampoline-sized master bed to the black-bottom pool — it is easy to forget that Eddie Murphy once lived there, too.

The estate, on five acres on Benedict Canyon Drive just north of Beverly Hills, was built in 1977 for about \$3 million, with the land accounting for a scant \$290,000 of the tab. Eddie Murphy bought it in 1988 for \$3.9 million and sold it last year to Roberto Trouyet, a Mexican real estate developer, for \$4 million. After major interior and landscaping renovations, which included ripping up the less-than-lovely carpets Mr. Murphy had installed, Mr. Trouyet has put the house back on the market for more than three times its original cost. Mr. Murphy's press agent said he would not comment on his real estate dealings.

Part of the property's enduring value can be traced to Cher's insistence on star treatment. Determined to make the house a showcase, she showed up at the construction site every day, according to Ron Wilson, her longtime interior designer, to make changes in the design and otherwise torment the architect. So, after seeing the finished living room, Cher decided it was too small and demanded an extra 20 feet in length. Eventually, the architect, Ted Grensbach, quit, leaving his col-

Luxury Houses Come Back to Earth

Percent change in the prices of luxury homes in Los Angeles County, including Bel Air and Beverly Hills, and the total housing market, since 1986. The luxury homes sold for more than \$400,000.



Source: TRW Red Property Data

and her bathrooms, with sinks and mirrors in separate rooms. "You generally assume that the house has a pool with it," Mr. Sands said. "But the true status symbol for anyone is the size of their closet. That's what celebrities show off."

Most prized are homes built by the stars themselves. That is because whoever might live there now, a part of the star will always remain with the palace. Only a wrecking ball could remove Cher from her Egyptian monolith. Her presence is so apparent in the flamboyant design — from the stone palm trees that surround the trampoline-sized master bed to the black-bottom pool — it is easy to forget that Eddie Murphy once lived there, too.

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So, after seeing the finished living room, Cher decided it was too small and demanded an extra 20 feet in length. Eventually, the architect, Ted Grensbach, quit, leaving his col-

leagues to deal with Cher's tinkering. Always one to enjoy the sun, Cher also insisted that the living-room roof be made of glass and that it retract with the push of a button. That item was added, even though it took six months to make it operational. And then there was the small problem with the kitchen. For a woman who lets it all hang out at work, Cher did not want to see any exposed appliances at home — no refrigerator door, no burners on the stove.

"I had no idea what to do about the kitchen, especially the stove," said Mr. Wilson, the designer. "What we wound up doing was putting a small sheet of granite over the burners so they'd heat up for cooking. But the granite kept cracking, and we'd have to come in and replace it. But that was fine with her. She knows what she likes."

Cher could not be reached for comment.

Unfortunately, few houses are built by celebrities. The next best are mansions that were owned by stars long enough to leave their imprint in the home's design. One such morsel is the roomy Bel Air mansion of Eva Gabor, just off Sunset Boulevard, across the street from Bloomingdale's and a short stroll from Barbra Streisand's.

Not only is the mansion pristine — polished wood floors and mirrored walls line the first-floor interior and a pool and tennis courts grace the backyard — it comes with a rich provenance. David Niven, Frank Sinatra, Mia Farrow and Audrey Hepburn all lived there before Ms. Gabor, making the mansion a five-star deal. That said, it is very much Ms. Gabor's home. In her 21 years in the house, Ms. Gabor, who died last summer, gave it all the comforts she was accustomed to, from crystal chandeliers to a sprawling sunroom.

The mansion is also rich in Hollywood memories — not all of which are included in the deal. An oil paint-

ing of Ms. Gabor in the sitting room, which the estate plans to keep, evokes her days as the bubble-headed Lisa on the 1960's television series "Green Acres." And in case buyers doubt Ms. Gabor's place in Hollywood history, an autographed picture from Lucille Ball, also excluded from the sale, sits on the bar with the inscription, "Eva, girl, you're too much."

Some could say the same of the house. Nonetheless, a \$2.5 million offer was accepted by her estate last week.

Most celebrity homes, however, are merely houses where stars once lived, however temporarily. One such find is Clara Bow's hulking mansion in Bel Air, currently on the market for \$3.5 million. Built in the 1920's — for the King of Spain, according to local lore — it was later owned by the film producer Louis Lewyn and his wife, the actress Marion Mack. The couple lent the 13-room abode, with its high doorways, Gothic arches and broad windows, to Ms. Bow in the early 30's. She is said to have lived there several years.

The estate looks to be a fitting home for Hollywood's "It" girl. The mansion itself is nothing short of stunning. The front, which faces a side street off Sunset Boulevard, towers over the estate's narrow front lawn. The pool, off to the side, is slender but elegant and abuts a broad gallery with a working stone fountain.

Roaming the premises, it is easy to imagine Ms. Bow gliding about, entertaining Hollywood's early elite. Besides starring in several hit movies including "Wings," which won the first Oscar for Best Picture in 1927-28, she had several notorious affairs with leading men, notably Gary Cooper, providing enough titillation to keep guests at Hollywood parties preoccupied for years.

Shortly after Ms. Bow left the house, her life began to unravel. Born in Brooklyn, she carried an accent so thick that it stifled her stardom in the talkies. She suffered a series of mental collapses and eventually married Rex Bell, a low-boy actor, who became the Lieutenant Governor of Nevada. The two separated but never divorced and Ms. Bow, a recluse for much of her life, spent her last two decades under the nearly constant supervision of a nurse.

A dash of notoriety has not dampened the appeal of the house, which is listed with Fred Sands, Estates of Beverly Hills. As it happens, the Clara Bow mansion is also an infamous landmark with the Los Angeles Police Department. Thirteen years ago, the mansion belonged to a Texas multimillionaire, Henry Harrison Kyle, who was president of Four Star International Inc., a television and movie production firm. Mr. Kyle's 21-year-old son, Ricky, woke up his father on July 22, 1983, saying he had heard a prowler, according to the police. When the elder Mr. Kyle, 60, walked downstairs, the police said, his son shot and killed him. Ricky Kyle was convicted of involuntary manslaughter and served three years of a five-year sentence, his lawyer, Steve Sumner, said.

In 1991, the house was purchased by a Burbank eye surgeon and his wife for about \$2.5 million. The couple have it on the market again for \$3.5 million, a sum that they may oab, realtors say, if they are patient. In general, however, such homes sell better if a celebrity has recently been in residence.

How much more buyers should expect to pay for such properties depends largely on the popularity of the star. "The buyer may deny it, but he wants to brag," Mr. Sands said. "We'll run a listing and say it's a celebrity and get 10 times more calls than regular properties."

Mike Farrell's house in the San Fernando Valley, for example, was reappraised only six months ago at \$569,082 by the Los Angeles County tax assessor, a whisker more than its \$568,000 asking price. Compare that with Liberace's former home next door. Similar in size to Mr. Farrell's, it was assessed at the same time at \$355,066, but is priced at \$695,000, a 25 percent markup.

"Certainly a lot of the star value has a lot to do with popularity of the star and what is happening with his career," said Mr. Hyland, the Beverly Hills real estate broker. George Burns's house, he noted, sold for a

respectable \$1.9 million. Part of that was because the estate sold it quickly after his death, and the other reason is that he was a popular performer," he added.

Not all celebrities, of course, have the kind of cachet that drives up the price. Visitors to one Bel Air mansion are quickly told that it was once the home of Marilyn Monroe and Candice Bergen. The mansion, on Summit Ridge Drive near Pickfair, the former estate of Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford, sits on the side of a hill and provides incredible views from its three levels.

The real estate agents tend not to volunteer that between the time Ms. Monroe and Ms. Bergen moved out and the current owner moved in, the house was occupied by Charlene Tilton, who played the town tramp on the television series "Dallas."

"We always tell potential buyers every star that we know of who lived in that house," said Elaine Young, the Coldwell Banker broker who represents the owners. "Certainly, we tell them about Candice Bergen and Marilyn because they're famous stars. A lot of people don't even know who Charlene Tilton is."

Despite all the glamour, celebrity homes can have their down sides. Some are not user-friendly, despite their million-dollar designs. One agent familiar with Cher's Egyptian retreat predicted that the next buyer would probably not want to spend more than two months a year under its roof because it feels more like a resort than a home.

Some of these estates also lack basic amenities. Kenny Loggins built a house in Montecito, near Santa Barbara, that has no dining room. Jeff Bridges bought it anyway for about \$5 million. Ms. Bergen just shelled out \$3.2 million for a house in Beverly Hills with no air-conditioning. Ms. Bergen bought the estate from Roger Moore, who spent summers in the south of France.

And few of these homes are welcoming to children. Not only would parents of toddlers have to worry about Cher's pool, which has no fence or barrier, there are also the moats and the rattlesnakes that occasionally slither onto the lawn from Benedict Canyon. Likewise, the eye surgeon who owns Clara Bow's house is moving partly because his children are afraid to stay there alone at night.

Gawkers are another problem, especially at the homes of the truly famous. When these stars — notably Lucille Ball, George Burns and Danny Kaye — built their homes some 40 years ago, they did not have to worry about trespassing fans, so they did not put up security gates.

Despite the lofty prices on some celebrity estates, deals can be had. One sure way to a bargain is to watch for foreclosures. Celebrity fortunes are often fleeting.

Consider this tale of woe. Jon Mercedez 3d, the manager of several television stars, had been living with Ms. Tilton in Marilyn Monroe's former Bel Air home. When the two split up, Mr. Mercedes was unable to pay the mortgage and lost the estate in 1985 to Boston Safe Deposit and Trust. Two Texas businessmen — Rex Holt and Guy Richard — bought the 6,500-square-foot house for \$625,000. They have put the estate back on the market for \$2 million. "We got a good deal then," Mr. Holt said. "But more than that we got a great house. It has a spectacular view down to the pool and plenty of history. We always heard that Lionel Barrymore used to practice his putting down on the lawn."

If Beverly Hills is too pricey, deals may be had in several out-of-town playgrounds. Plenty of stars drive to the coast to Montecito, home to Jonathan Winters, Rob Lowe, Jeff Bridges and Jane Seymour. Other popular getaways are Jackson Hole, Wyo., and Aspen, Colo.

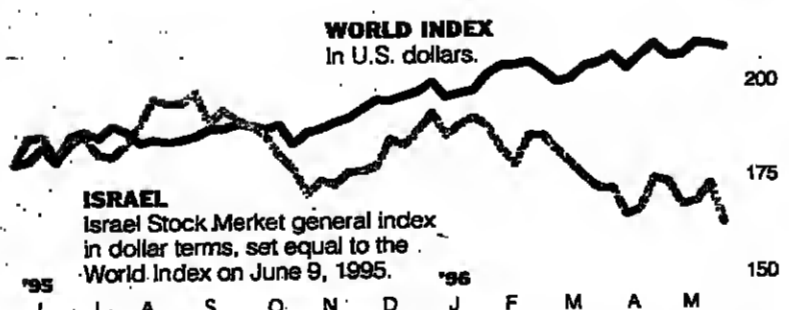
"They get more house here, and more times than not they get a good view," said Bill Gardner, a Montecito real estate broker. "The area is definitely worth looking into."

The best deals, by far, come from celebrity divorces. It is common for stars to put their homes on the block to raise quick cash in a divorce. The composer Burt Bacharach put his Malibu beach house on the market last year for \$3.5 million after he divorced the songwriter Carole Bayer Sager and then remarried. He finally sold it last month, taking a slight loss.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Country	Index	IN U.S. DOLLARS		IN LOCAL CURR.		YTD % Chg.	YTD Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.
		Week % Chg.	Week Rank	Week % Chg.	Week Rank				
Australia	207.32	1.1	12	9.1	11	4.27	172.68	1.8	
Austria	194.35	2.4	4	11.4	7	1.82	154.24	18.8	
Belgium	210.18	-0.2	19	0.5	22	4.08	163.02	7.4	
Brazil	170.62	1.6	8	23.7	1	2.07	313.53	27.0	
Britain	235.81	2.4	3	2.3	20	4.11	225.64	2.5	
Canada	154.63	0.3	18	10.9	8	2.33	163.45	11.5	
Denmark	294.78	-0.4	20	2.1	21	1.89	236.65	8.7	
Finland	200.53	3.7	1	7.2	15	2.51	198.64	18.5	
France	195.74	0.5	17	9.1	12	3.02	158.94	15.5	
Germany	188.61	0.5	16	3.0	18	1.87	133.90	9.9	
Hong Kong	440.38	1.7	6	13.8	4	3.25	437.47	13.7	
Ireland	82.96	1.0	13	10.7	9	3.41	251.15	11.8	
Italy	82.96	1.0	13	12.6	6	2.29	85.91	9.8	
Japan	155.66	0.7	14	0.5	23	0.72	106.37	5.3	
Malaysia	557.26	-1.3	23	14.9	3	1.67	536.23	13.0	
Mexico	1257.41	-3.9	26	21.4	2	1.38	1019.85	16.9	
Netherlands	298.67	1.2	10	9.5	10	3.08	233.33	16.9	
New Zealand	78.08	-1.8	25	-2.0	25	4.50	61.02	-5.7	
Norway	252.00	2.3	5	9.0	13	2.03	223.42	12.6	
Singapore	417.36	-1.2	22	2.5	19	1.40	271.13	2.1	
South Africa	362.67	2.8	2	5.9	26	2.07	345.61	12.6	
Spain	175.79	-1.0	21	8.4	17	3.24	171.69	13.1	
Sweden	352.76	1.2	11	13.0	5	2.31	351.44	14.8	
Switzerland	233.06	0.6	15	-1.2	24	1.84	180.85	7.5	
Thailand	180.04	1.7	7	7.0	16	1.86	176.92	7.5	
United States	272.56	-1.3	24	8.5	14	2.17	272.56	8.5	

COMPOSITE INDICES		YTD % Chg.	YTD Dividend Yield			
Europe	210.20	1.3	4.6	3.05	184.42	8.5
Pacific Basin	169.01	0.6	2.3	1.17	117.79	5.8
Europe/Pacific	186.07	0.9	3.4	2.05	143.04	7.1
World	213.70	-0.1	5.8	2.10	183.57	7.9



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the FT Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and NatWest Securities Ltd. in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and the Faculty of Actuaries.

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's

CURRENCIES				
Exchange rates	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	108.07	107.90	+0.93	84.32
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.5225	1.5432	-1.34	1.4085
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3688	1.3735	-0.34	1.3770
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.5510	1.5120	+2.58	1.5940

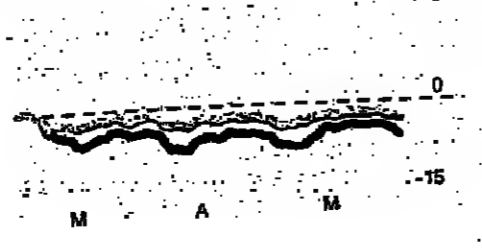
Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets, exchange rates as of Friday's New York close

May 27-31: Fears of an Interest Rate Hike Take Their Toll on the Markets

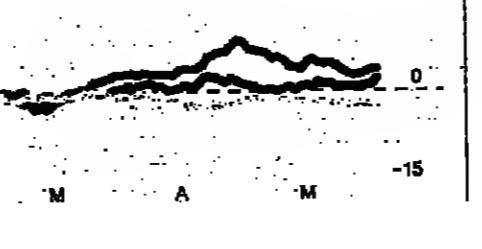
PRICES	
DOMESTIC EQUITIES	
Broad market	Down 1.38%
S. & P. 500 index	669.12
Blue chips	Down 2.08%
Dow 30 industrials	5,643.18
Small capitalization	Down 0.75%
Russell 2000 index	361.85



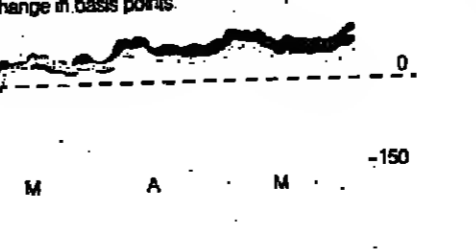
DOMESTIC BONDS	
Treasuries	Down 0.95%
Ryan Labs. Total Return	183.88
Municipals	Down 1.77%
Bond Buyer index	112.59
Corporates	Down 0.84%
Merrill Lynch Master index	791.66



AROUND THE WORLD	
European stocks	Up 1.26%
FT-Actuaries Europe	210.20
Asian stocks	Up 0.64%
FT-Actuaries Pacific Basin	169.01
Gold	Unchanged
New York cash price	\$380.90



YIELDS	
BONDS	
Long bonds	6.98%
30-year Treasuries	Up 15 basis pts.
Notes	6.24%
2-year Treasuries	Up 25 basis pts.
Municipals	6.09%
Bond Buyer index	Up 13 basis pts.



OTHER INVESTMENTS	
Money market funds	4.74%
Taxable average	Unchanged
Bank C.D.'s	4.93%
1-year small savers	Up 2 basis pts.
Stocks	2.20%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Up 4 b.p.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; DataStream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

The New York Times

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Benjamin Netanyahu's Mandate

After one of the closest elections in its history, Israel will have a new Prime Minister, a new governing coalition in Parliament and a new approach to peace. Benjamin Netanyahu's leadership will be judged by how well he balances the expectations of the Israelis who elected him with the hopes of those who voted for Shimon Peres. The early indications are encouraging. Mr. Netanyahu's first post-election statements have stressed national reconciliation and a continued quest for peace.

Mr. Peres and his martyred predecessor, Yitzhak Rabin, deserve lasting recognition as the men who launched difficult but necessary peace negotiations with the Palestinians. The greatest tribute to their efforts is that all of Israel's main parties have declared their commitment to continued peace diplomacy.

Mr. Netanyahu's reassuring words will be measured against his deeds, as the new Prime Minister chooses a cabinet, inherits the responsibility of carrying out existing peace agreements and reveals his own approach to further talks with the Palestinians and, perhaps, Syria. By building a broad coalition embracing most of the center as well as rightist and religious parties, Mr. Netanyahu can minimize his dependence on extremists who would cancel binding peace agreements and freeze further diplomacy.

Once in office, he will immediately face two issues Mr. Peres had postponed. The tight restrictions imposed on the movement of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza after suicide bombings in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv earlier this year are strangling the Palestinian economy and undermining the commitment of many Palestinians to peace. Without compromising security, Mr. Netanyahu should set an early timetable for easing the restrictions.

Israeli military forces were originally scheduled to withdraw from Arab areas of Hebron in March, leaving only a reduced force to protect Jewish enclaves. Mr. Peres, with the consent of Yasir Arafat, delayed that partial withdrawal until after the Israeli elections. Mr. Netanyahu, a supporter of Jewish settlement in Hebron, suggested during the campaign that the withdrawal ought to be delayed for several more years. He should focus his efforts on assuring the security of Jewish areas and religious sites and withdraw Israeli troops from Palestinian areas of the city.

If Mr. Netanyahu is serious about wanting to pursue peace with the Palestinians, he will need a more constructive approach than he has outlined so far for the next phase of negotiations. The talks are expected to deal with such crucial issues as the future of Jewish settlements, the Palestinian role in Jerusalem and the question of Palestinian statehood. Mr. Netanyahu says he will expand settlements, keep Jerusalem undivided and never recognize a Palestinian state. Serious negotiation will require some compromise in these areas.

Israel's most important foreign partner remains the United States. President Clinton all but campaigned for Mr. Peres, but must respect the decision of Israeli voters. American support for Israeli security does not depend on the political party in power in Washington or Jerusalem, but Mr. Clinton can and should judge Mr. Netanyahu to keep the peace effort alive.

The Israeli campaign, while conducted with admirable dignity and seriousness, was fought over polarizing political issues. Mr. Netanyahu's most pressing responsibility is to reunify a nation that has always found its greatest strength in broadly shared ideals and ambitious but pragmatic national goals.

Think About the Port of Brooklyn

New York Harbor, favored by nature and location, has long been a key to the prosperity of the city and region. Through economic ups and downs the Port of New York and New Jersey has managed to grow in trade and traffic but has been losing its once-predominant share of Eastern seaboard commerce, raising concerns, even alarm, over its ability to compete in new shipping environments.

Ever-larger container ships haunt the future. Already they challenge existing facilities on the New Jersey side of the harbor, where the Port Authority invested heavily three decades ago. Unless the harbor digs deeper channels, the ships will choose Baltimore, Norfolk, Va., and Halifax, Nova Scotia. Losing out to those cities could threaten New York's status as a shipping power in the 21st century.

Representative Jerrold Nadler, whose district includes parts of Brooklyn and Manhattan, proposes a revitalized Port of Brooklyn. He calls for exploiting its deeper waters, building and improving rail links to the west and New England, and letting the Jersey piers continue to handle standard-size vessels.

The idea is attractive and merits the study the city's Economic Development Corporation has authorized. Indeed, it was alluring before worries about competitiveness and deep-draft requirements began to mount, but political leaders have failed to give the idea its deserved attention. Mr. Nadler's scheme would please his Brooklyn constituents, but

be started pushing it years ago when he was a West Side Assemblyman. To be sure, it has the potential for inciting local rivalries for Port Authority attention and resources, but the concept need not die from jealousy or stalemate. Depending on what the studies show, it could be part of a comprehensive plan to put the bustle back in a once-great port.

The Nadler plan is indeed grand. It entails extensive dredging, state-of-the-art storage for the mud and landfills at the Brooklyn shore, to say nothing of new warehouses and transportation connections. The most impressive and daunting of these would be a rail tunnel across the harbor to connect with New Jersey's gateways to the west and south.

Moving mud and rock are the plan's big tasks. The Jersey waterways must be dredged for mud, and they must be drilled for rock at great expense, since the Newark Bay and the channels of Kill van Kull and Arthur Kill hit solid rock at 35 to 40 feet. Brooklyn's waterways, 60 to 85 feet deep before hitting rock, need only be dredged for mud to accommodate deep-draft ships.

The Port Authority leans against this plan, admitting that the Jersey rock-drilling is costly but warning that Brooklyn's development is replete with questions over public and private investment and the environment. All of these issues need expeditious study and the vision of industry and officials on both sides of the harbor. Meanwhile, credit Mr. Nadler for some intriguing ideas.

Editorial Notebook

A Matter of Character

Senator Bob Dole has discovered an artful way of raising the issue of President Clinton's character without seeming to do so. First, while Republican surrogates flog the Whitewater story, Mr. Dole never mentions it. Thanks to a blunder by Mr. Clinton's lawyer in citing the President's role as Commander in Chief as a defense against a sexual harassment lawsuit, Republicans have also been able to remind people of both the draft-dodging and womanizing problems in one television commercial.

But the clever part of the Republican strategy is for Mr. Dole to raise doubts about Mr. Clinton's integrity by referring only to issues, and the President's record of shifting course on everything from welfare reform to China. In this manner, the Dole campaign feels it can reinforce a view of the President as a slippery character that goes well beyond the issues themselves.

The strategy is risky for Mr. Dole. Both he and Mr. Clinton have risen to the top because they are consummate compromisers, with long lists of positions fudged and adjusted. To this, they are no worse than some of our most successful Presidents. Franklin Roosevelt campaigned on a pledge to balance the budget, took secret steps to prepare for the war in Europe and enjoyed giving all the people he met the impression that he agreed with them. John Kennedy campaigned by deploring a missile gap with the Soviet Union that miraculously disappeared once he took office. Richard Nixon spoke of a secret plan to end the Vietnam War and Ronald Reagan promised to cut taxes, build up defense and balance the budget all at the same time.

These historical parallels are in a new book, "Character Above All," in which several scholars and former Presidential aides reflect on the quirky way character traits bear on recent Presidents. In a television discussion last week, the authors agreed that personal honesty is essential to public leadership, though hardly a guarantee of success. (Among the most admirable persons to serve in the White House, for instance, were Presidents

Taking the Low Road To the White House

Hoover, Ford and Carter.) As for sex scandals, it remains as difficult as ever to reconcile the wandering of Roosevelt, Kennedy and Eisenhower with their leadership abilities, though the historian Stephen Ambrose insists that Eisenhower should get credit for faithfulness because he tried but failed to consummate his relationship with his wartime secretary.

Assuming that Mr. Clinton did not personally gain from Whitewater, how harshly should Americans judge him for consorting with questionable characters early on? Perhaps not much, unless you argue that Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson were doomed by their unsavory beginnings.

Ethical conundrums count for little when pollsters tell their candidates that personal attacks can pay off. Five months before the election, Mr. Dole and Mr. Clinton are squaring off at a high pitch. The President, for instance, is running ads suggesting that Mr. Dole is a quitter because he resigned from the Senate.

The White House's mixed and even contradictory signals on balancing the budget are a legitimate issue of character for Mr. Clinton. But so are Mr. Dole's oft-found opposition to affirmative action, which he had favored all his career, and his shifts in the last year on environmental issues and budget and tax cuts.

Abortion has prompted the most moral righteousness of the campaign so far, but it is obvious that neither Mr. Dole nor Mr. Clinton is comfortable waging a campaign of moral fervor against the other. Indeed, it would be nice if they could play to their strengths and defend their records as savvy and flexible politicians. Firing salvos of righteous indignation at each other makes them look a little ridiculous, like circus bears attempting a pas de deux. I would like to believe that if they do not address the issues more honestly, the voters may tune out. But history does not necessarily support such a hope. STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Whitewater Verdict Didn't Taint the Clintons

To the Editor:
In his May 30 column "Partners in Crime?" William Safire falsely states that the jury in Little Rock "ignored the President and believed the crook." All but one of the jurors who commented about President Clinton's testimony said they found it to be credible but bad not relied on it because it was irrelevant to the charges. They also said they disregarded or disbelieved the testimony of the convicted felon David Hale.

Lacking evidence of wrongdoing by Mr. and Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Safire relies on guilt by association, referring to various people under prosecution in Arkansas as "associates" of the Clintons. Typically, he fails to point out that the charges allege no wrongdoing by the Clintons.

Then he lists Federal crimes like obstruction of justice and perjury that "may" be filed against the Clintons. Will Mr. Safire ever decide that, in fairness, he should refrain from accusations of criminality against President and Mrs. Clinton until he can cite credible evidence to support them? LANNY J. DAVIS
Washington, May 30, 1996

The writer, a lawyer, is an ex-Democratic National Committee member.

Don't Run Again

To the Editor:
In light of what seems never-ending harassment by his enemies, President Clinton should do the right thing for himself and the Democratic Party by not running for re-election.

The Paula Jones lawsuit is finding its way to the front pages this election year; the Whitewater "scandal" persists, after almost three years, millions of dollars and not one example of illegal activity on the part of Mr. or Mrs. Clinton; and we have a Republican partisan special prosecutor, Kenneth Starr, in no hurry to wrap up his investigation.

Most of the anti-Clinton hysteria comes from people still sore over the 1992 election. Why not allow someone like Al Gore or Bill Bradley to take over, and let's see who wins in November? DANIEL TORLUENKE
Cedar Park, Tex., May 30, 1996

Hot Springs Reborn

To the Editor:
Re Maureen Dowd's slicing comments about the Clintons in "Hot Springs Eternal" (column, May 30): In the 1930's and 40's, Hot Springs,

Ark., could possibly have been described as a "hangout of gamblers and roués." By 1952, when Bill Clinton arrived there as a small boy, change was already under way, and by the late 1960's the town was shut tight and has been strictly on the up and up ever since.

To any child there, Hot Springs made a lovely little case study of how government can work: an economy can be overhauled, and the law enforced, when the people have a mind to do it. Too bad more of our politicians (and columnists) didn't grow up there. SHIRLEY ABBOTT
Haydenville, Mass., May 30, 1996

No Time for Siblings

To the Editor:
Frank Rich's skewering of the proclaimed family values of both the Doles and the Clintons was a delight (column, May 29). Missing only was the question I had when I read of Mrs. Clinton's avowed yearning to give Chelsea the experience of having a sibling: How much time would any 16-year-old going off to college in two years have with any new family member? B. MEREDITH BURKE
Palo Alto, Calif., May 30, 1996

Trust in Zyuganov Is Naive and Ominous

To the Editor:
Respect for the Russian writer and Gulag veteran Andrei Sinyavsky borders on reverence. But his comments on the forthcoming election ("Worse Than Communists," Op-Ed, May 30) are politically naive.

Mr. Sinyavsky and other former dissidents broke with the Government after the shelling of the Parliament in October 1993 and the attack on Chechnya the following year. While writers in the ultra-nationalist camp have had no scruples about throwing their weight behind Gen. Zhirinov, Boris Yeltsin has received little support from the more progressive literary factions.

Mr. Sinyavsky may have taken the moral high ground on this question by choosing to back Mikhail Gorbachev. But while such righteous behavior has always been highly valued in Russia, it is not what the nation requires during this important election process.

Mr. Sinyavsky discounts fears that a Communist victory would bring back the "Iron Curtain, censorship, the Gulag [and] persecution of dissidents." Perhaps not. But Zavrta, the newspaper most responsible for Mr. Zyuganov's platform, began its coverage of the Communist victory in the parliamentary elections last December with the mocking phrase "Hannukah has been spoiled," and the paper's demonization of Jews and other "non-Russians" has been echoed in Mr. Zyuganov's writings and speeches.

If the Yeltsin camp is using scare tactics to warn about the possible consequences of a Communist victory, perhaps that is because there are aspects of Mr. Zyuganov's agenda that are truly frightening. KATHLEEN PARTRÉ
Princeton, N.J., May 30, 1996

Japan's Arms Fiction

To the Editor:
Your May 28 news article on a possible Japanese military role in Asia accurately summarized the formal position of the Japanese Government: that Japan's Constitution, written during the American occupation of the 1940's, allows Japan to use military force only if the country is directly attacked, not as part of collective action if an enemy attacks the forces of Japan's allies.

The article should have pointed out, however, that this position cannot be supported from the actual text of the Constitution, which does not differentiate between acceptable and unacceptable uses of force, but simply forbids Japan to have armed forces.

The notion that Japan's rather large forces will not be in violation of the Constitution until they venture away from Japan is a polite fiction. EDWIN E. MOISE
Clemson, S.C., May 30, 1996
The writer is a professor of history at Clemson University.

Insuring Mental Health Has Been Cost-Efficient

To the Editor:
Your call for a commission to study insurance coverage for mental illness ("Mr. Dole's Health-Care Task," editorial, May 30) is out a compromise, it's a cop-out.

The Senate Committee on Appropriations commissioned one study during the first attempt at health-care reform in 1993. By releasing this issue to a commission, Congress would continue to perpetuate discrimination against five million Americans whose illness affects the wrong part of the body — the brain.

Concern that providing this coverage would create "major economic problems" is not supported by data. In Rhode Island, Maine and New Hampshire, which have parity for severe mental illnesses, costs have risen only modestly. In states where parity laws existed, 68,000 new jobs were created in a year. LAURIE M. FLYNN
Executive Director, National Alliance for the Mentally Ill
Arlington, Va., May 30, 1996

From New England, an S O S for R's

To the Editor:
I am a New Yorker in exile, living in northern New England for the past eight years. Perhaps you have heard the rumors, but the dearth of R's here is much more serious than can be appreciated by any outsiders. New Englanders call it the death of Oz.

Tough Yankees have performed as well as can be expected in this vacuum, but identity confusion reigns. When it comes time for invitations, is your next-door neighbor's name Mark or Mack?

There is gender confusion, too. Are the lifeguards at the lake gossiping about Barney or Bonnie? We are at risk of losing touch with the outside world. I ask that New Yorkers open your hearts, you who dwell in R abundance. Could some foundation please collect some of your excess R's and ship them to us?



We are holding out, but can only last so long. THOMAS E. LAWLESS
Antrim, N.H., May 30, 1996

Armenian Genocide Cannot Be Denied

To the Editor:
Alan Fisher (letter, May 28) tries to defend Heath W. Lowry, the Princeton University professor who has a long record of denying the Armenian genocide.

Only someone working directly with the Turkish Government would, as Mr. Lowry did, draft a letter for the Turkish Ambassador's signature in order to intimidate Robert Jay Lifton because he had referred to the Armenian genocide in his book "The Nazi Doctors."

Mr. Lowry says he was not then a professor and, looking from where he is today, he realizes that he "goofed." He should not have oozed a job at Princeton to recognize that such behavior is outside the realm of accepted scholarly activity.

Mr. Fisher refers to a 1985 petition, signed by "specialists" in Turkish studies, that contains classic genocide denial. In a survey by Israel Charney, director of the Institute for the Study of the Holocaust and Genocide, in Jerusalem, a number of signers said they regretted having signed, and they acknowledged that the genocide was an indisputable fact.

The Armenian genocide is substantiated by thousands of documents in official archives around the world, Ottoman court-martial records, eight decades of scholarship and detailed reports of The New York Times from those years.

Ambassador Henry Morgenthau's memoir is one of many such documents. Mr. Lowry's 90-page pamphlet, which was published in Istanbul and tries to discredit Morgenthau's memoir, is a good example of sophistry by those who deny this genocide and, similarly, the Holocaust.

Genocide denial is intellectual and moral degradation and a violation of what a university represents. The Turkish Government should acknowledge the destruction of Anatolian Armenia — what was, until

1915, a 3,000-year-old civilization. Princeton should acknowledge what it means to house deniers of genocide. DEBORAH E. LIPSTADT
ROBERT JAY LIFTON
Atlanta, May 30, 1996

The writers are, respectively, Dorot Professor of Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies at Emory University, and Distinguished Professor of Psychiatry and Psychology at the City University of New York.

A University's Integrity

To the Editor:
As the only member of Congress of Armenian descent, I was deeply disappointed to read your May 22 news article on Princeton's being accused of fronting for the Turkish Government to spread propaganda about Turkey's role in the Armenian massacres during World War I.

The Armenian genocide was just as official, brutal and reprehensible as the Nazi Holocaust. Any academic institution that helps question the occurrence of either historic event in exchange for endowment money essentially allows its integrity to be sold.

Assigning responsibility for what happened to Turkish Armenians so many years ago is much more than an academic exercise. For those who lost family members in the genocide, it is a matter of bringing Turkey to show respect toward the victims of its actions. For the United States, it is an important part of understanding the need to break the Turkish land blockade that is keeping American humanitarian aid from reaching Armenia.

For the international community, it is a function of bearing witness to the Ottoman Empire's crimes against humanity, crimes that no nation tried to stop and must never be repeated. ANNA G. ESSHO
Member of Congress, 14th Dist., Calif.
Washington, May 30, 1996

Better Contraceptives for a Better World

To the Editor:
Re "Obstacles Are Said to Block New Kinds of Contraceptives," (news article, May 29):

The only real solution to the highly charged abortion issue is to offer people affordable, safe and efficient birth control. By continuing to block the research and production of new methods, we perpetuate painful decisions for individuals and almost insurmountable problems for our world's shrinking resources.

Moreover, birth control methods for men are just as controversial as those for women. We need increased emphasis on methods for men. Be-

coming a parent is and should continue to be a decision for both partners to make. WILLIAM J. LAWRENCE
New York, May 30, 1996
The writer is a professor of economics at Pace University.

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Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

... And One Man Voted Twice

The legacy of the Israeli election.

WASHINGTON In the coming weeks you will read many analyses of the Israeli election, but for my money you can reduce the outcome to four words: The bad guys won. No, I'm not talking about those Israelis who voted for Bibi Netanyahu. They are entitled to their choice. I'm talking about the Jewish and Muslim extremists, whose actions during the last nine months transformed Israeli politics and made Mr. Netanyahu's victory possible.

the watchful eye of prison guards. In killing Mr. Rabin, Mr. Amir deprived the Labor Party of its only leader who embodied both a vision of reconciliation with the Palestinians and the hard-headed toughness to persuade a majority of Israelis to follow him. Try as he might, Shimon Peres just couldn't bring together those two attributes. But Mr. Amir did something else — something more subtle and paralyzing. By pumping two bullets into Mr. Rabin's back, he raised the terrifying specter of civil war in Israel, if the peace process went any further. In the wake of the assassination, many Israelis, subconsciously, wanted to remove the divisive peace process from the public agenda, and that too worked against Mr. Peres.

bombers finished off from the Muslim fringe. The suicide bombers wiped out Mr. Peres's 16-point lead in the polls, by creating a sense among Israelis that the peace process equaled insecurity. Logically, many Israelis understood that the extremists were acting in order to stop the peace process — precisely because it was working and rendering their extremist visions obsolete. But fear always trumps logic.

Instead of waiting calmly at traffic lights, I got nervous until the light changed and my taxi moved away from any potential bus bombs. If I, as a visitor, felt that sort of anxiety, what about Israelis? Who can blame so many of them for reaching out to the tempting, but illusory, appeal of Mr. Netanyahu — that he will bring "peace with security," and without any further concessions to the Arabs. But the forces that made Mr. Netanyahu a winning candidate will make him a disastrous Prime Minister, unless he can break free of them. No Likud leader has ever inherited what Mr. Netanyahu is inheriting: two implemented peace accords with the Palestinians and a pathway to a final settlement, a full peace with Jordan and Egypt, low-level negotiations with Syria, diplomatic relations with Morocco, Qatar, Oman and Tunisia, unprecedented support from the U.S., plus a booming Israeli economy, thanks partly to the benefits of peace. Mr. Netanyahu has promised that, in his own way, he will preserve and nurture this inheritance, while also bringing more security. That

is what he will be judged on. Both Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres are casualties of their historic decisions in 1993 that produced this inheritance. These two old war horses came together at the end of their long political careers to form one of the most unique and creative leadership teams in Jewish history. Their successes derived from their willingness to face the cruel truth that the long-term security of Israel lies in decisions that will cost some Jewish solidarity. They did not shrink from those decisions. Mr. Rabin paid with his life for his courage. Mr. Peres paid with his career.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Daddy In Chief

WASHINGTON It took Bill Clinton a while to get tough. He had a hard time doing it with the Bosnians, the Haitians, the Somalis, the Rwandans, the Russians and the Democrats. But now he has drawn a line in the sand. Mr. Clinton is cracking down on America's young people. The politician famous for his lack of discipline has turned disciplinarian. The man with a past preaches neo-Puritanism. The turn-of-the-century President is bursting with rules.

Kids should not smoke. Kids should wear school uniforms. Kids should not have sex or babies. Kids should not stay out late and might be better off with curfews. Once herded inside, kids should not watch racy TV shows, but should be controlled with the V-chip. Given the relish with which the President dispenses discipline, Democrats may be headed toward a pro-spank plank in the platform. Until he began running for re-election, the biggest discipline problem in the Pennsylvania Avenue schoolyard was Bill Clinton. He was President-as-teen-ager, an unfocused, self-indulgent baby boomer. But then Dick Morris swept into town and explained to Mr. Clinton that he had to be in opposition to himself on policies and personality if he was to capture the center. Mr. Morris shaped more dignified roles, dubbed President-as-Pope and President-as-Good-Father, allowing Mr. Clinton to (try to) present himself as moral guide and strong protector. The Good Father image, promoted by the writer Naomi Wolf to help lure women voters, is a comforting au-

Smoking for the Thrill of It

By Jane Pratt

THE number of high school students who smoke is on the rise, according to a recent report by the Federal Centers for Disease Control. Anti-smoking groups used this news to call for regulation of cigarettes by the Food and Drug Administration and to renew their attacks on a counterplan by Philip Morris to curb teen-age smoking.

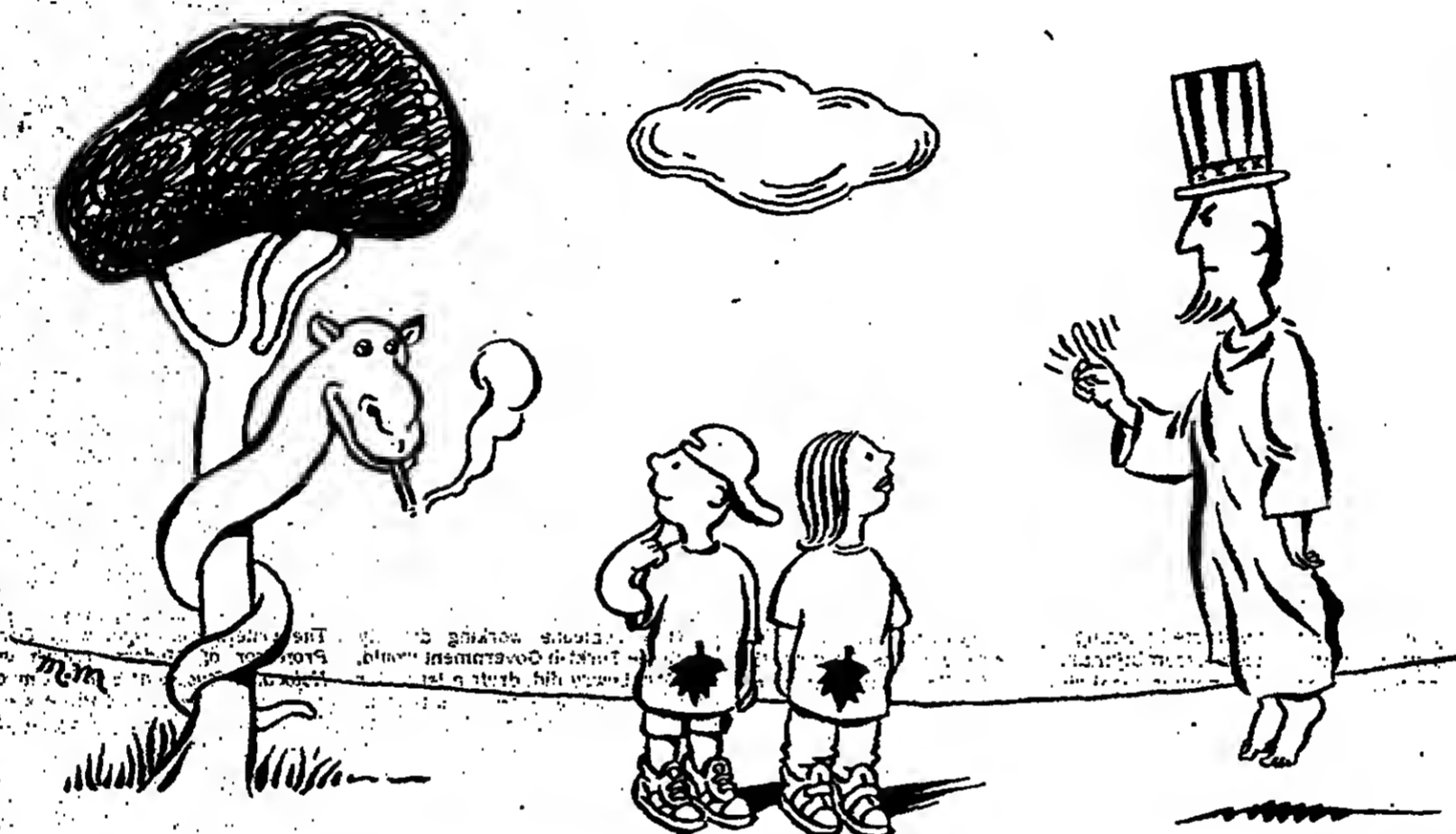
It's a given that any restriction suggested by the tobacco industry is not intended to inhibit its sales. But what concerns me is the F.D.A.'s proposals to discourage teen-agers from smoking. The agency doesn't seem to understand the psychology of adolescents — something that Philip Morris and other tobacco manufacturers seem to understand all too well.

Many of the F.D.A.'s proposals would limit the ads that teen-agers see in regular places such as store displays in plain view while kids are piling onto the after-school school bus, ads in magazines that lots of teen-agers read.

These limitations may be a fine place to start, but adolescents today don't live in an insular world, arriving home from school to delve into the latest issue of "Teen. As a matter of fact, high school students probably sample a broader range of music, fashion, sports and media than any other age group.

That's one reason Philip Morris may have offered to support a ban on ads to publications in which teen-agers make up at least 15 percent of the subscribers. The company knows that many, many kids regularly buy magazines off the newsstands or read the ones their parents receive in the mail.

The F.D.A. has also suggested restricting ads to a black-and-white, text-only format. You have to wonder if this proposal makes sense when Philip Morris volunteers to take the F.D.A. regulations a step further, suggesting that all billboard ads adhere to this same format. Any teen-ager — or Calvin Klein — could tell



you that black and white is fashionable, and millions of stickers, T-shirts and posters attest to the fact that text alone can be cool. Making a product slightly less accessible and more illicit makes it more enticing to teen-agers. For example, requiring proof of age is evidence that cigarettes are really truly for adults, a concept that almost always appeals to anyone who isn't quite one yet. (And the need for fake identification always adds a special thrill.)

At worst, the warning makes the product more alluring, provoking the same urge to tempt fate that leads teen-agers to drive fast. Part of smoking's intense youth appeal is that it's a bonding ritual rooted in self-destruction, a slightly more grown-up version of pricking your fingers and pressing them together to become "blood sisters." The main reason tobacco compa-

What the F.D.A. doesn't understand about teen-agers.

nies can afford to adopt any of the F.D.A.'s proposals is that none of them addresses the larger reasons teen-agers smoke. Most girls I know say they smoke, at least in part, to keep their weight down. It's been theorized that one reason fewer African-American girls smoke is that they haven't been as indoctrinated into the ideal that thin is beautiful. Most teen-age smokers, both male and female, admit they started smoking mainly out of insecurity. They wanted something to do with

their hands; they wanted to look less awkward than they feel. In combating that self-consciousness, they were more influenced by friends and celebrities than by any ads. We should look at what we can do to eliminate some of the images that encourage teen-agers to smoke. And Philip Morris, which recently proclaimed in newspaper ads its commitment to ending teen-age smoking, doth protest too much. If Philip Morris really cared about teen-age smoking, it would put its money into public-service ads on, say, MTV, and make smokers look nerdy, insecure, gross and unattractive. Teen-age smokers should get the message that far from being rebellious, they are actually being manipulated to hurt themselves for the profit of the tobacco industry. That's something to rebel against.

From governing to parenting.

authority figure, who builds and defends the family home. When he signed V-chip legislation, the President said that "television can become an unwelcome intruder," conveying "images of violence and bias that can enter our homes and disturb our children." Mr. Clinton is playing to baby-boomer parents who enjoyed an era of permissiveness but who have turned more culturally conservative as their children grow older. He soothingly promises to give control back to parents. On Thursday in New Orleans, Mr. Clinton endorsed the Big Easy's dusk-to-dawn youth curfew. "These are just like the old-fashioned rules most of us had when we were kids. When the lights come on, be home, Bill." I'm sure that a lot of the teen-agers think this curfew is too strict. It was a long time ago, but I can still dimly remember what it was like to be that age. But they must also know that it's a dangerous world out there, and these rules are being set by people who love them. The Clintons' bid to be seen as First Parents (Hillary's baby talk) is their not-so-subtle reminder that they are running against somebody who's old enough to be First Grandpa. In New Orleans, the President cited "children" 46 times. "We simply cannot go into the 21st century with children having children, children killing children, children being raised by other children. ... That is not the America ... we can pass on to our children and their children." Mr. Clinton came of age in a time when society blamed the young for its ills. In the 50's, kids were seen as licentious for liking rock-and-roll and Elvis, and in the 60's for having long hair and protesting Vietnam. Certainly it's nice that the President is using the bully pulpit to discourage teen-age smoking, pregnancy and boogalooing. But it's more campaign rhetoric than a strategy for governing. Mr. Clinton has fallen back on this values theme in part because he has failed to do much of substance in Congress on children and social policy. His first two years in office were wasted on the wildly ambitious health-care plan, giving short shrift to welfare. He and his legislative team have no real idea how to cut a deal with Congress to get something constructive accomplished. In the midst of this impasse, it appears he will veto Republican welfare legislation for a third time. Disillusioned Marian Wright Edelman organized a march on Washington this weekend to show that, even though her old friends are in charge, children and children's issues are still doing poorly. There are still 10 million children without any health insurance. More than 20 percent of children are still living in poverty. Having struggled at governing, Mr. Clinton has turned to parenting. Poor man. He thinks that will be easier.

Punishing the Little Guy and Calling It Reform

By Francis Wilkinson

HILLSDALE, N.Y. Bob Dole's departure from the Senate should ease the way for campaign finance reform, something that never made it onto his agenda when he was majority leader. That would be too bad. For despite the evident failings of the status quo, the leading plan now before Congress would do

far more harm than good. The measure — endorsed by groups like Common Cause and sponsored in the Senate by Mr. Dole's friend John McCain of Arizona — has a worthy goal: to curtail the influence of moneyed fixers. But it is fraught with provisions that would cede more ground to the system's most entrenched and powerful players, trample the First Amendment rights of ordinary citizens and undermine efforts to encourage the broad-based participation that serves as a counterweight to the influence of political insiders.

Consider the legislation's ban on political action committees. A patently unconstitutional infringement of free speech and assembly (as even some of its supporters acknowledge), the ban is included solely to capitalize on the low regard in which PAC's are held by the press and the public. But all who wish to deprive Exxon of its PAC should consider the impact on the 28,000 nurses who contribute an average of \$46 a year to the American Nurses Association PAC to have a voice on issues like health care. With or without PAC's, petrochemical executives will be major players in the system. Motivated by a keen interest in legislation affecting their bottom lines, they will sign \$1,000 checks (the maximum allowable

contribution from an individual to a politician) and hold fund-raisers in corporate suites. Nurses can do neither. For them, a PAC affords a convenient avenue of participation and a chance to exercise power they could not wield as individuals. Another provision would restrict out-of-state contributions to 40 percent of total funds; the idea is to make candidates less beholden to

Common Cause's misguided war on PAC's.

Washington power brokers and more responsive to local interests. This provision raises grave constitutional concerns: how, for example, would the Government justify restricting New Yorkers' contributions to a Senate candidate in North Carolina? And it would have disastrous consequences in states where powerful business networks dominate local political fund-raising. Candidates who failed to genuflect before the local establishment would be unable to rely on outsiders for

most of their funds. A tight-knit chamber of commerce could control the money spigot, leaving outsider candidates (blacks in the South would be particularly vulnerable) with nowhere to turn for contributions. Then there is the proposed ban on bundling, in which one person serves as a conduit for campaign contributions from others. There are various reasons to bundle, not least that it's easier to attract a politician's attention if you're carrying a wad of \$1,000 checks. With a ban in place, we are supposed to believe, bundlers would lose an inside track to the politicians and their staffs. But bundling is not solely the province of powerful insiders. Groups like my former employer, Emily's List (a political network for Democratic women who support abortion rights), use it to snowball small checks from like-minded individuals into the kind of sums that can have a powerful impact on a political race.

If bundling became illegal, the most dim-witted political insider armed with a telephone could still circumvent the prohibition in seconds — by directing friends and clients to deliver their checks straight to a favored politician, and making sure the politician knew about it. But tens of thousands of small contributors would lose an effective avenue

of influence. It's easy to see why some politicians attach themselves to these faulty proposals. In particular, the chief House sponsor, Representative Linda Smith of Washington, has ridden the reform train to stardom. But why do groups like Common Cause and Public Citizen join the ruse? Because they consider even these slipshod efforts to be a step in the direction of their ultimate goal: full public financing of campaigns. Unable to convince voters of the need for public financing, they serve up convoluted proposals that are premised on the belief that private money is evil. What results is chaos. If reformers can persuade Americans to support tax-financed campaigns, that's fine. That's a workable system. The alternative is to abandon a quarter-century of failure and accept the validity of private financing. Reformers could join the efforts of principled conservatives like Trevor Potter, the former chairman of the Federal Election Commission, to rationalize the system by easing restrictions on contributions while increasing requirements for disclosure. That, too, would work. What won't work is loading up the current system with still more half-baked, intellectually dishonest restrictions on Americans' political activity — and calling it reform.

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it unless it is accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks.

FILM

'Kaspar Hauser' Is Worthy of the Brothers Grimm



André Eisermann (foreground) in the title role of "Kaspar Hauser." Peter Sehr's film about the mystery that fascinated Europe in 1828.

By JUSTINE ELIAS

THE stranger who appeared in Nuremberg's village square one day in 1828 was weak, barely able to walk, nearly mute, infantile in his behavior and unable to understand what was said to him.

Soldiers who first encountered the mysterious young man presumed he was an idiot or a fraud. Others came to believe that he was a kidnapped prince who had been imprisoned since childhood, a pawn in some roy-

al intrigue. A cryptic letter found in his pocket gave few clues to his origins other than that he had been kept in confinement since infancy. But the boy was able to scrawl his name: Kaspar Hauser.

The ordeal of Kaspar Hauser, who was renowned during his brief life as a human oddity, a holy innocent and an example of Rousseau's "natural man," has inspired some 2,000 books and an acclaimed film directed by Werner Herzog.

Now a new version of the story, an award-winning, controversial historical drama written and directed by Peter Sehr, a German scholar,

turned film maker, has caused a sensation in Europe and made a star of its young leading man.

This spring, more than 150 years after Hauser's death at the hands of an unknown assassin, genetic researchers are comparing DNA from Hauser's preserved blood with that of a descendant of the House of Baden, the royal family that many scholars, including Mr. Sehr, think planned and covered up the abduction and murder of one of its own crown princes.

"Very often people think the Kaspar Hauser story is taken from the fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm," said Mr. Sehr, whose "Kaspar-

Hauser" opens Friday at Cinema Village. "All the elements—the lost prince, a baby switched at birth, a wicked uncle, the intrigues in the palace—they're all there. But Kaspar Hauser was a real person."

Mr. Sehr, who is 45, was a doctoral candidate in biophysics at Oxford University when he first saw Mr. Herzog's 1975 film "Every Man for Himself and God Against All" (also known as "The Mystery of Kaspar Hauser"). Focusing on the last five years of Hauser's life, the Herzog film featured an eerie performance by a first-time actor, identified only as Bruno S., who had spent much of his life in mental institutions.

The scene helped make the movie a cause célèbre in Germany on its release. "The reaction to that scene was sometimes violent," Mr. Sehr said. "I wanted to demonstrate to the German people something in themselves that they know is there, and they don't want to see it." Still, the film won the German equivalent of the Oscar for best film, best actor, best director for 1994.

The role of Kaspar Hauser, who appeared to be in his late teens when

To Mr. Sehr, who as a teen-ager abandoned his homeland in disgust over its Nazi past, the film was a challenge to confront his own German ancestry and German history.

"This film marked the first time I, living abroad, had been touched by something that was German," said the director. "I thought making films must be beautiful, and it triggered the idea that I could make films myself."

Mr. Sehr set aside his work as a researcher, returned to Germany and found employment in the Munich film industry, which was the center of the German New Wave films of the 1970's. After completing his second feature film, "The Serbian Girl," the young film maker rekindled his interest in the Kaspar Hauser story by reading everything he could find on the subject, including new information that surfaced in the early 1980's.

"Herzog's story was that of a wild child, someone who came out of the dark and disappeared into the dark," said Mr. Sehr. "But I was so fascinated by the political background, I thought we absolutely had to tell the story again."

Mr. Sehr's film supports the theory that a servant's child had been substituted for the real crown prince, who was spirited away and held hostage in secret by those who wanted the Baden line to die out. The servant's child was supposed to have died in infancy under suspicious circumstances. (Kaspar Hauser himself never claimed to be a royal prince and was murdered by a man who had promised to tell him who his parents were.)

In Mr. Sehr's film, the most shocking scene shows the substitute prince being struck on the head by one of the plotters. It's no accident, Mr. Sehr said, that the assassin has a little black mustache. "This is my Auschwitz," said the director. "For me, it is the same cynical attitude, the same efficient, mechanical drive toward death."

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The role of Kaspar Hauser, who appeared to be in his late teens when



Mr. Sehr—He found inspiration but not motivation in Werner Herzog's film on the subject.

he was found, is played by André Eisermann, a drama student who answered the casting call and announced, "I am Kaspar Hauser." Mr. Eisermann, the son of traveling circus performers, had little formal education but a most unusual upbringing.

"My school was the circus," said Mr. Eisermann, whose signature stage role is Shakespeare's Puck. "My grandmother was the snake woman, a contortionist, and my best friend's father was the man who bit the heads off mice."

But Mr. Eisermann, who is now 28, had to wait two years while Mr. Sehr revised his script and got financing for his film. In the meantime he made three other movies, including "Brother of Sleep," about a gifted 19th-century composer and mystic who contemplates suicide, which will be released here in August. The film is based on a novel of the same name by Joseph Vilsmaier ("Stalingrad").

Mr. Sehr, who noted that he managed to make peace with his German heritage in the course of making "Kaspar Hauser," said a psychoanalyst once explained the story as a search for identity. "Because Kaspar didn't find his true self, he had to die," said the film maker. "But I like to turn it around and say that in searching for your true self, you will survive."

Documentaries are Thriving

By PETER M. NICHOLS

THE film shows a norrish Los Angeles, bustling in sleaze. A young madam smirks at the television cameras as she is arrested for procuring for the rich and famous in Hollywood. "She didn't look like much, but she had a way with men," a venomous competitor says. "Always on the phone, from the age of 23."

Shades of Mike Figgis and Richard Gere in "Internal Affairs," perhaps, or some other director and star adept at conjuring up a seamy Los Angeles underworld. Actually, "Heidi Fleiss: Hollywood Madam" is not a feature film. It's a documentary.

Only don't call it one. "I'm not saying 'documentary' all over the place; kind of keeping that low-key," said Mindy Pickard, vice president of marketing for BMG Independents, which is releasing the highly praised Fleiss film on videocassette on July 2. "Documentary" can be a mark of death for a film.

Tell that to Jacques Cousteau, the people at National Geographic or any other self-respecting maker of a nonfiction film, from freside lecture to historical epic. Distributors may trumpet "Forrest Gump," but don't cry for documentaries like "Hoop Dreams," the acclaimed 1994 basketball film; "Crumb," Terry Zwigoff's study of the artist Robert Crumb; "Truth or Dare," the Madonna movie; "Unzipped," about the fashion designer Isaac Mizrahi; "Hearts of Darkness," on Francis Ford Coppola's struggle to make "Apocalypse Now" in the Philippine jungle, or "A Brief History of Time," Errol Morris's documentary about the physicist Stephen Hawking.

All of them were best renters. Occasionally the documentary genre even produces superstars: for example, "The Civil War" and "Baseball," the two spectacularly successful series by Ken Burns.

In the last five years, public perception of documentaries has changed, says Milos Stehlik, a managing director of Facets International, a Chicago mail-order distributor with hundreds of documentaries in its catalogue. "We're over the stigma that came out of the 60's and 70's, when as children we were forced to watch those horrible educational things that had nothing to do with documentaries whatever."

Dealers estimate that about 3,000 video stores and other outlets carry a reasonably good supply of documentaries. "In an age of sound bites, we're looking for more solid pieces of information," says Susan Margolin, a senior vice president of New

Strong nonfiction films find success in movie theaters and on video.

Video, a New York distributor of all kinds of documentaries and independent films.

But to many people, documentaries are like kissing one's sister. "In this society they mean stuff on the Discovery Channel or on PBS," Ms. Pickard says. "They have their audiences, but we like to talk in terms of acclaimed feature films based on truth." A flat-out thriller may be a little too much to hope for, but producers and marketers wouldn't mind something of a chase movie.

"With 'Roger and Me' they didn't use the 'D' word," Ms. Pickard says, invoking Michael Moore's scathing portrait of General Motors in which he pursued Roger Smith, former chairman of General Motors, with the intention of showing him the ravages brought about by the company's plant closings in Flint, Mich. Mr. Moore never caught Mr. Smith in private, but his film, released in 1989, became a paragon of the documentary niche by earning \$8 million in theaters.

"Heidi Fleiss: Hollywood Madam" was made very much in the spirit of the chase by Nick Broomfield, whose earlier documentaries include the critically praised "Alleen Wuornos: The Selling of a Serial Killer," about a prostitute who murdered seven men in Florida. In 1994 he shouldered his camera and raced around Los Angeles after the elusive Ms. Fleiss, who was later convicted of pandering and sentenced to three years in prison but remains free while her case is being appealed.

The goal was to find out what drove the young woman who at 19 became the mistress of the financier Bernard Cornfeld and at the time of Mr. Broomfield's film was about to go on trial in a courtroom next to O. J. Simpson's. The hunt is often breathless, leading from call girl to call girl who worked for the Hollywood Madam and to two of her mentors in procurement, Madam Alex and Ivan Nagy, who take turns bashing each other and explaining their relationships with Ms. Fleiss.

Throughout, Mr. Broomfield, a youthful-looking 48, exudes urgent interest and disarmingly boyish charm in the face of frustration. In 1990 he ran into reluctant subjects while filming "Driving Me Crazy," a

documentary about the making of a musical, and in 1994 he charged around Britain in a futile attempt to interview Margaret Thatcher. "She was totally inaccessible, but I probably should have gone on longer, tried harder," he says. His documentary on the Thatcher regime was completed but without the Prime Minister.

"Documentaries are like going into the ring," he explains. "You're on your toes. You're riding the equipment. It's so spontaneous and electric."

Mr. Broomfield acknowledges the influence of "Roger and Me" as well as earlier documentaries that used the same tactics, notably "Waiting for Fidel," Michael Rubbo's 1975 documentary in which he pursues Fidel Castro, never gaining an audience but creating a vibrant portrait of Cuba in the process.

In "Heidi Fleiss: Hollywood Madam," persistence pays and finally there is Heidi: herself, up to her neck in legal difficulties but, luckily for the documentary, willing to talk about herself. The reason, primarily, is that she took a liking to Mr. Broomfield.

He found her at Heidi Wear, a clothing store she owns. "I knew he was working on something," she said in a recent telephone interview, "but I never had any intention of talking part. When he caught me, I was so vulnerable. He was so persistent. He drove me up the wall. But he was nice. I liked his Inspector Clouseau attitude."

Their meeting in the film is a gentle, probing interrogation that stars Mr. Broomfield as much as his subject. He says his style comes from the new journalism in which the reporter becomes a participant. "You learn as much from the interviewer, what it feels like to be there, as you do from specific questions," he says.

Mr. Broomfield, who is working on a feature film with the screenwriter Joe Eszterhas, admires directors like Louis Malle, Barbet Schroeder, Peter Greenaway and Jonathan Demme, all of them accomplished documentary makers. "Heidi Fleiss: Hollywood Madam" is set up a bit like a feature film. "You want a narrative through-line," he says. "The audience needs to understand what you're after and the difficulties of chasing your goal. Then you come to a resolution."

Before it is released on video, the documentary is having a limited theater run in about 25 cities, where, Ms. Pickard says, it should make between \$500,000 and \$1 million at the box office.

GOING TO EXTREMES

BY RICH NORRIS / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

1 Club name since 1892

7 Leave — for (give room)

13 Venice's Ponte di

19 Stabilize

20 Bronze

21 Magazine

22 1993 Johnny Mathis hit

25 Small rock combo?

26 Riga native

27 Habituate

28 Emmy-winning TV host of 1949

30 Reception

31 Approving sound

32 Land ruled by Sargon

33 Genetic transmitter

34 Jungle weather phenomena

36 HBO alternative

38 Whip but good

39 Shakespearean comedy

42 Pen

45 Leave on shore

47 Waiver

48 VCR button: Abbr.

49 Winter time

51 Rockefeller, for one: Abbr.

52 Line div.

53 Pro

54 Pair connector

55 Thomas Hardy novel

60 New Deal org.

61 Merkel of the movies

62 Half-soled shoe

63 Some chasers

68 Trifler

68 Actress Clarke of "The Front Page"

70 Signs, sort of

72 "Some Like ___"

74 Cut off from the mainland

76 Seed coatings

80 L.A. clock setting: Abbr.

82 Show one's humanity?

83 1967 Newman film

86 Slew

87 Mil. titles

90 Self-starter?

92 Hibernal

93 Sir — of Arthurian legend

94 Rubbers

97 Listing

99 Important points in a legal case

101 Early Eastwood film

104 Subject of psych. research

106 Cartoon canine

107 Some are tall

108 Foerster opera

17 Monograph

18 Olive —

23 Hardware item

24 Bond adversary

29 Big name in fashion

34 Elem. particle

35 Florist's unit

37 Wizard

39 Had a part (in)

40 Show uncertainty

41 Toys since the 1940's

42 Brooklyn's — Institute

43 Expulsion from a country

44 Parser's concern

46 Result of a strain

50 Cocktail party offering

52 — Ball

56 Suit fabric

57 Put the kibosh on

58 Tide component

59 "Just kidding"

64 Hammett novel

65 Angry with

67 Seasonal worker?

69 Working hard

71 Instigate

73 Waiter's — weight

75 Frank, document

77 Wind —

78 Delectable

79 Con

81 Look at the highlights

84 Well driller's joy

85 Frees

87 Unused

88 Test

89 Setting out

95 Skyline sight

96 Words from gramps, maybe

98 Some upholstery

100 Bring back

102 Gardner and others

103 Riotous spree

105 Loot

109 Software convenience

110 Steel impurities

112 Albers's "Romage to the Square," e.g.

114 Apple polishers

115 Word from Tokyo

118 Prefix with sonto or aore

119 Poetic monogram

120 Diamond gal

122 Nice name

123 Like some hours

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

SPRAWL GIMMICKY GOTTAJOB
 PRECIS ALANON EPTICURE
 HOWARDSTERNLY REDDDBI
 ERASE RENNS WAR PILL
 RAISED LINDY JOOYS TISE
 ETE BLOCS BARD INCHES
 BARALEE LITERS IDEAL
 DADY OSSIE OYBIAL
 MARKS SECS EDIT GYO
 SLANSY MERR ROTIC ANSO
 TORDES BLEANOR INSTEP
 TOTA BLOCS VIDE OUTLAY
 PSL PALLI LERE HURRY
 SENSORS PITER EBSA
 SHAPE ONITLY ALLEVARD
 SCHELL STAY FARY PIER
 TOO YEATH RITY PRIN
 EARS BOO GUSTO LUCIE
 ESTELLE SARNEYFRANKLY
 RELATES SMALLS ANGLE
 STYLIST DIANNY POSERS

Handwritten signature: *Abeyco 152A*

Gorbachev's determination

MIKHAIL Gorbachev, presidential candidate, lands at Samara along the Volga River and immediately the vibes are bad. He glances out the airplane window at the runway and notices there is no traditional Russian welcome awaiting him - no bread and salt, no pretty girls in local costume, not even a regional official to shake his hand. He sighs and shrugs on his double-breasted, gray-flannel suit jacket. "Time to go to work," he tells his wife, Raisa.



In 1987, he was "Time" magazine's Man of the Year. Now Gorbachev is simply fighting to repair his tattered name.

From the plane, he is whisked to a cramped little news conference in the airport terminal. The reception there isn't much better. "Mikhail Sergeyevich!" says a man who turns out to be the deputy regional governor. "I want to suggest to you and Raisa Maximovna that you withdraw your candidacy for president... You've done everything you could do already." So begins another disheartening day on the campaign trail for Gorbachev.

Once among the world's more powerful men, Gorbachev, 65, is running for public office for the first time in his life. His campaign has not been promising.

Gorbachev has been hailed around the world for introducing glasnost, his policy of openness which would eventually lead to growing democratization in Russia and throughout Eastern Europe.

But he is despised by many Russians who blame him for everything from the collapse of the Soviet empire to Russia's economic crisis.

The former Soviet leader has been spat on, screamed at and hit on the head with a karate chop. Placards impugn his patriotism. In the street, a few people will smile and wave or call out their good wishes, and occasionally he will fill an auditorium. More often Gorbachev is ignored.

With poll ratings hovering around 1 percent, Gorbachev has no real chance of winning the June 16 presidential election. He says he doesn't believe the polling, but it is clear he doesn't really expect to

win. He has no apparent program. No prominent figures have joined his campaign, and several other candidates rejected his suggestions of an alliance led by Gorbachev himself. Politically, he is an untouchable.

"WHO AM I going to vote for?" said an auto worker in nearby Togliatti, the Detroit of Russia. "Anyone but Gorbachev!" Yet it becomes clear as Gorbachev stumps from one appearance to the next that winning is not really the point of his journey. The campaign, he says, is "a breakthrough from oblivion." It is his first chance to take his case to the Russian people since December 1991, when he was unceremoniously displaced from his Kremlin office by a somewhat vengeful Boris Yeltsin.

For four years, Gorbachev, says, he has been the victim of an information blockade in the Russian media. He has been shunned in public, banned from official state functions, mocked in the press.

Now, with his candidacy a pretext for stamping across the nation, he is determined to repair his tattered

name. "What gives me strength is that what I did was needed for the country and for the world," he said in an interview. "Certainly we made many mistakes. There was tragedy, bloodshed, poverty, all this is our responsibility."

His campaign is a movable seminar in which the man who once ruled one-sixth of the world's land mass and 287 million people acknowledges his missteps, evens the score with Yeltsin, debates this and that fine point of his own decade-old diplomacy or domestic policy and argues for his place in the hearts and minds of his countrymen. It is a campaign of confession, self-justification and, he evidently hopes, redemption.

"I will fight to the bitter end and will not withdraw my candidacy, even if I am crucified, even if you are the ones who will crucify me," Gorbachev told a jeering, whistling group of people in his native region of Stavropol in early May. "Some of you are so overexcited your hands are trembling. This reminds me of Jesus Christ on the way to Golgotha, when people spat at him."

Raisa Gorbachev, whose assertiveness and glamorous public persona made her even less popular than her husband, tried desperately to talk him out of running. He wouldn't listen. Now, elegantly coiffed and turned out in an earth-toned suit, she is a nearly ethereal presence at his side as he campaigns.

"No matter how other people try to humiliate him, and no matter how often people demonstrate these hostile attitudes to him," she said, "Gorbachev will do what he's doing and what he has to do... and as his wife, I'll support him."

In interviews since 1992, Gorbachev has said he would run for the presidency if the Russian people summoned him. Now he explains his candidacy slightly differently. He says at least half the voters are satisfied with neither of the apparent front-runners, Yeltsin and the Communist Party candidate, Gennady Zyuganov.

(The Washington Post)

The (borrowed) buck stops at the Erez Checkpoint

Israeli businessmen have found it much tougher to collect debts from Gazans since the PA took control, Judith Sudilovsky reports



Business deals Israelis have made with Gazans are getting a bad reputation when the Gazans do not pay back the millions of shekels owed.

IT is easier to collect a business debt from someone anywhere in Europe than from a business on the other side of the Erez checkpoint in Gaza only a few kilometers away, said Baruch Ouzieli, owner of Ouzieli and Son Textile Importers in Tel Aviv.

Since the signing of Oslo II, he has been waiting to collect a NIS 500,000 debt from eight Palestinians in Gaza and Hebron.

Hanoch Avni, owner of Citco Limited, a paper-products company in Netanya, has been waiting two-and-a-half years to collect a NIS 500,000 debt from two Gazans, who worked together to give him falsified post-dated checks over a two-week period, as well as some cash to alleviate any fears he might have, and then when the checks were due to be cashed disappeared into the maze of Gaza.

At that time, Gaza was still under Israeli control, and as soon as Avni realized he had been tricked, he went immediately to file a report with the police. The wheels of justice turn slowly, however, and by the time Avni's case had gone through the whole process and he had a court order allowing him to go into Gaza after one of the men, it was only two weeks before Israel's scheduled pullout.

He knew he would have to work quickly, but found that the Israeli military establishment in Gaza was not all that eager to help. "The military police had already left, and I wanted to do this before all the Israeli forces left Gaza. I wanted to get some of his property. It was a race with time, but in the end nobody did anything to help me," he said.

Even though it was difficult then, Avni said, it is worse today. "I couldn't do anything because the army was too busy [with the pullout], but with time we could have done something, but then Oslo came and said we have to get out of Gaza. The Palestinians aren't interested in these debts," he said.

Avni is not alone. According to Ester Ben-Dor, a food-supplier who is owed NIS 3.5 million by 10 Gazan businessmen and who a year ago set up an association of Israeli creditors owed money by Palestinians, at least 30 Israeli businessmen are owed NIS 30m. by Palestinians and since the Israeli withdrawal from the terri-

ories have been unable to collect.

There are probably more businesses in a similar situation, she added, but they haven't contacted the association yet. In many instances, such as in Ben-Dor's and Ouzieli's, Palestinian businessmen who had worked many years with the Israelis simply stopped paying their debts once the Palestinian Authority took over.

Now Israeli businesses who work with Palestinians in the territories accept only cash, said Ben-Dor. Nobody accepts a Palestinian check. "For eight years I worked with these people. We had friendly relations," said Ben-Dor, whose business went bankrupt after the 10 Gazan businesses she had worked with failed to pay her. "After the peace agreement it was comfortable for them not to pay. There is no police there, no law, no one can do anything to them and we fell because of that."

Some of the businessmen told her they were afraid to pay because Hamas had threatened them, said Ben-Dor. But, she said, she doesn't know if that is true. She hired a Gazan lawyer to help her collect her debts, she said, but he soon told her he was being threatened and could no longer represent her. Ouzieli also tried to contact a lawyer in Gaza and his reply, said Ouzieli, was "What do you want me to get killed?"

Palestinian lawyer Rami Nasrallah, who according to Oriot House Economic Department head Kamel Hussein, is project coordinator of a grassroots committee of Palestinian and Israeli lawyers organized to look into the debts, did not return phone calls.

Palestinian Businessmen Association head Ibrahim Abdel Hadi said that any good businessman, no matter his nationality, knows it is in his interest to pay off his debts. He said the Palestinian businessmen who

owe money will pay their debts, but added that the economic situation in the territories is very difficult now and businessmen are having a difficult time honoring their debts, not only to Israelis.

The closure only made things worse economically, he said. "The situation is really bad," said Hadi. "I think there would be a much better outlook if there was an easing of the closure. It is not only Israelis not getting paid, people [in the territories] are also not getting paid."

Bank managers here are not getting loans paid back.

He pointed out that in 1967, Palestinian businessmen owed money to Jordanian banks and they eventually honored their debts. On May 16, a new Israeli-Palestinian subcommittee was established to find ways to solve the problem at a meeting between Justice Minister David Liba'i and his Palestinian counterpart Freih Abu Medein. Both men said through spokesmen that they hoped the new committee would be able to find a solution. But the Israeli creditors are not very optimistic. They have heard the stories about committees before, they said.

"I think this is all just stories," said Ouzieli. "What can come out of this committee? Just talk. There has already been another committee set up and nothing came out of that."

In February, Liba'i set up an interministerial committee, headed by Justice Ministry Director-General Haim Klugman, to review the situation. They recommended that details of the debts deemed "criminal" be forwarded to the PA, which would then be asked to collect the debts on

Israel's behalf. If the PA does not follow through, then Israel should either stop helping Palestinians collect debts from Israelis or it should also refuse to implement additional parts of its agreement with the Palestinians, the committee recommended.

Another ministerial committee, which reviewed those recommendations, did not make any decisions but decided that the issue should be brought up in the meeting between Liba'i and Medein.

Collecting debts from Palestinian businessmen has been a problem since the beginning of the intifada, said Klugman. "People who worked with the [residents of the] territories knew they had to ask for cash up front," he said.

"It was never easy collecting debts from Nablus. Even when the army was there, it was not their role to collect debts... even in Israel it is hard to collect debts. But this is a problem which needs a lot of work."

"I am really dependent on the government, because if they don't help me, tomorrow I may be out on the street," said Ben-Dor. "What we are asking is that they give us some sort of loan so we can get back up on our feet again, to start over and repay the debts which we owe to other Israeli businessmen."

The loans, she said, could be deducted from the money which the Israeli government sends the PA each month, in the amount of the private debts owed by Palestinians. But the Klugman Committee said this is not possible under Israeli law, and it might even encourage other individual Palestinians not to pay their debts.

The more we develop, the harder it gets

IN 1992, the government commissioned a new National Master Plan from Adam Mazor, professor of architecture at the Technion. But if anyone in the government actually read his in-depth study or acted on his predictions, there has been no sign of this in either the actions or inactions of official government bodies.

According to Mazor, while only 3 percent of land in Israel is either urbanized or paved over in 1948, 17% was used for this purpose by 1992.

The drive for the suburban lifestyle has created an urban sprawl that is encroaching on agricultural lands and on natural areas, as well as threatening the existence of both.

Given the demographic increase of one million people every decade, this can only get worse. Coupling this with the fact that since 92% of the population lives north of Beersheba, it is clear this 17% of the land that is paved over is almost all in the northern half of the country.

Mazor reported that by the year 2020, Israel can be expected to have between nine and 12 million inhabitants, and there will be some three million cars on the roads. By

EARTHLY CONCERNS

D'VORA BEN SHAUL

then 60% of the land in Galilee will be paved over. In addition, there will be few if any beaches for public bathing, as more and more portions of the coastline are given over to marinas and tourist facilities.

But it seems that no one really paid any attention to these predictions, and the government has continued investing in wasteful development projects, especially more highways and neighborhoods.

Even though air pollution in the cities is so severe that asthma in children has tripled in the past decade and scientists say we may expect 1,000 excess deaths annually in nonsmokers from respiratory diseases caused by inhaled particulate pollution, the authorities still ardently pursue a policy that encourages private cars and neglects convenient mass transit and trains as a partial solution to the problem.

Nor has the government seriously approached the terrible and expanding problem of solid waste. While Switzerland buries only

12% of its waste and Japan 9%, here we bury 95%. This too takes up land areas, pollutes the soil and water resources and, in the case of the Hiniya dump near Tel Aviv, attracts so many scavenging birds that aircraft are seriously impeded. But so far recycling, composting organic material and incineration of waste for energy production has not been part of the national agenda.

And even though Israel has ceded millions of liters of water as part of peace agreements in the last few years, no real effort is being made to encourage water conservation on the part of the general public.

Although agricultural water quotas have been cut, the average person is encouraged to save water only when the visible level in the Kinneret drops so far that everyone knows there's a shortage. Between such episodes, no mention is made of the problem.

The environmental and ecological implications implied in these findings are severe and widespread. Less than 25 years from now, life in Israel is going to be far different from what it is today, and there are indications that these changes will be for the better.

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BUSINESS & FINANCE

Monday, June 3, 1996

Analysts: Foreign investments likely to continue with new government

Hapoalim sale might be delayed; Leumi warns small-party pressure bad for economy

ANALYSTS say Labor's fall from power does not jeopardize foreign investment, although companies which have been considering setting up shop here might briefly suspend their plans until the political fog clears.

Such optimism came amid concern that Bank Hapoalim's sale process, which is very close to completion, will be temporarily frozen, and that the new clout enjoyed by small parties would pressure the national budget.

The Claridge-Arison Group, which is dominated by foreign investors and is the main bidder for Israel's largest bank, yesterday held meetings to analyze the implications of the election results.

Yossi Taicher, managing director of YLR Capital Markets,

which represents Prudential Securities in Israel, said foreign investors already in the process of completing transactions will pursue plans, while he expected firms in various stages of market exploration to freeze their plans until Prime Minister-elect Binyamin Netanyahu's peace related policies become clearer.

Taicher said his company has spent the last few days trying to calm foreign investors by emphasizing that the Likud intends to go ahead with the peace process and the growth process will continue.

"In the long run, Netanyahu's actions will determine the level of foreign investments that arrives here," he said, noting that, in his view, if the new premier takes "measures against the peace process," foreign investors would

react negatively.

Zeev Holtzman, chairman and CEO of Giza, the Israeli affiliate of US investment bank Alex Brown & Sons, said he did not expect the political situation to affect foreigners' plans to invest in the local high-tech industry, even in the short run, explaining that the majority of high-tech firms' activities are in the international market.

However, he predicted that the election results will lead to a temporary standstill in foreign investors' plans to purchase state-owned assets.

"In general, foreign investors are not that concerned with the results of the elections. They realize the change in rule is part of

democracy and expect the new government to implement a right-leaning, but liberal policy," said Holtzman.

Romy Strauss, Citibank's country corporate officer for Israel, also expressed optimism that Israel would continue to see continued investment of funds from abroad.

"I personally doubt that people who have already invested money will withdraw it," he said, suggesting that at most some prospective investors may wait a while, and they too would ultimately see for themselves that overall stability will have been maintained.

"I personally do not expect any major changes with regards to policy and do not believe there will be any meaningful withdraw-

al of foreign investment," Strauss said.

However, economists at the large banks say the new political landscape is bad for the economy, especially with the increased strength of the small parties.

Bank Leumi, in its weekly report on the capital market, said the increased sway of smaller parties is likely to hamper the Treasury's bargaining power, and result in shelving economic plans, which will ultimately accelerate inflationary expectations and impact negatively on equity, debt and foreign exchange markets.

Bank Hapoalim, in its weekly survey of the capital market, said it expects a drop in share prices in the short run as a result of the uncertainty resulting from the change in government.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Jordanian delegation cancels visit: A Jordanian delegation due here today to discuss joint water agreements canceled the visit yesterday afternoon. Government officials denied that the cancellation was politically motivated.

"At first we thought their reasoning was unclear, but after further clarification it transpires they have canceled for purely technical reasons," Water Commissioner Gidon Tsur said.

The parties had been scheduled to debate key issues, including drilling for water in the Arava, borders, and division of water supplies in the summer months. *David Harris*

Egg prices up 8.4%: The government approved an 8.4 percent increase in egg prices yesterday. A large egg will cost 57 agorot. *David Harris*

Tadiran has completed the establishment of two new firms, Tadiran Spectralink and Tadiran Communications, in line with a policy aimed at turning Tadiran into a holding company specializing in high tech and electronic investments. *Galit Lipkis Beck*

Koor Tourism, a subsidiary of Koor Industries, has formally signed a \$25-million deal with Elad Hotels to purchase all rights and ownership of the Paradise Hotel in Jerusalem. The 200-room hotel is in the process of obtaining approval to add another 54 rooms. *Galit Lipkis Beck*

Trans-Israel tender conditions approved

DAVID HARRIS

THE outgoing government yesterday approved the final tender conditions for the proposed Trans-Israel Highway.

Earlier in the year, Trans-Israel Highway Ltd., the state company responsible for managing the project, cut the list of bidding consortiums down to four.

The multi-billion dollar project initially attracted the interest of more than 30 firms, which competed over the Rosh Pina-to-Beersheba road, since its official launching half a year ago.

Those left in the competition are led by the French-based Bouygues and Transroute-France, Dragados of Spain, and Israel's Africa-Israel.

IDB Holdings, DIC report rise in quarterly profits

COMPANY RESULTS
GALIT LIPKIS BECK

DISCOUNT Investments Corp. (DIC), the investment arm of the IDB Group, reported a 61 percent growth in net profits for the first quarter to NIS 50 million from NIS 31m. in the same period last year.

The industrial companies accumulated sales turnover increased to \$800m. from \$715m. International sales rose to \$550m. from \$505m.

One of the key factors that contributed to the rise in DIC's earnings was the significant improvement in the electronics and telecommunications field, particularly reflecting Cellcom's impressive performance.

The cellular phone company, which started to operate about 15 months ago, reported a net profit of NIS 7m., compared with a net loss of NIS 39m. in the first quarter of 1995.

The rise was due to profits from financing income and a lowering of its operating losses, to NIS 3m. from a loss of NIS 38m. Today, Cellcom serves 300,000 subscribers.

DIC's other large industrial investments also reported an improvement in earnings.

In the energy and services sec-

tor, Supersol and Delek registered a growth in earnings - which was partly offset by lower earnings in Tambor, Kilil and American Israel Paper Mills.

In the real estate and investment finance field, Clal and Property and Building had a positive contribution on the group's earnings for the quarter.

Iscar, a company controlled by the Wertheimer family, reported a rise in net profits to NIS 81.8m. from NIS 73m.

The company's contribution to DIC's profits was NIS 18.5m., compared with NIS 61.7m. in all of 1995.

IDB Holdings and IDB Development also reported an improvement in first quarter net profits.

IDB Holdings completed the first quarter with a 128% growth in net profits to NIS 39.17m. from NIS 17.54m.

In the reported period, IDB Holdings completed a NIS 50m. private issue of bonds to provident funds and institutional investors.

IDB Development, a subsidiary of IDB Holdings, reported an increase in net profit to NIS 60m. from a net profit of NIS 26m. during the same period last year.

Hapoalim profits down slightly in quarter

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

BANK Hapoalim, the country's largest bank, reported a nine-percent drop in net profits for the first quarter to NIS 195.9 million from NIS 215.3m. during the same period last year.

Net return on equity on an annual basis fell to 11.9% from 14.1%. The results include capital gains of NIS 8.8m. from the sale of Hapoalim's excess holdings in Clal, in line with the Bank (Licensing) Law. According to the law, banks must cut their holdings in non-financial firms to 25% or less by December 31, 1996.

Management said the decrease in earnings resulted mainly from a 6.1% decline in profits from financing activity, before provision for doubtful debts to NIS 758.1m., compared with NIS 835.9m.

The decrease was due to, among other factors, a drop in income from the unlinked shekel sector as a result of low interest rates.

The drop also stemmed from an increase in operating and other expenses. Salary expenses rose 7.1% to NIS 464.3m.

Banking subsidiaries in Israel contributed NIS 15.3m. to net profits, compared with NIS 21.9m. in the same period last year, while subsidiaries abroad had a negative contribution of NIS 34.6m., compared with a profit of NIS 47.6m.

The overseas subsidiaries' negative contribution primarily stemmed from the real decrease in the Swiss franc's exchange rate.

The drop in earnings was partly offset by a decrease in provisions for doubtful debts, down 22.8% to NIS 221m. from NIS 286.1m. Operating and other income increased 4.3% to NIS 497.8m. from NIS 477m.

The increase resulted from a 10.7% rise in commission income for the first quarter. The bank said increased customer activity contributed to higher income, especially from payment system services, computerized services, foreign trade activity, and special foreign currency services. The results were partially offset by a 10.6% decrease in income from capital market activity.

Hapoalim said Peilim Capital Markets is in the midst of handling the sale of the bank's excess holdings in Hapoalim Investments, which is one of the non-financial companies Hapoalim is required to sell by the end of the year.

In May, Hapoalim signed an agreement to sell 29.6% of Anpal to a consortium headed by the Steinmetz family for \$57m. Hapoalim will register net capital gains of NIS 40m. upon completion of the transaction, which remains subject to the approval of several bodies.

Teva largest maker of generic drugs in US

JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

TEVA Pharmaceutical Industries and Biocraft Laboratories officialy announced the completion of their merger yesterday. Trading of Biocraft common stock ceased at the end of last week. In the transaction, each share of Biocraft common stock was converted into 0.46 ADRs of Teva (Nasdaq).

By acquiring the New Jersey-based company, a generic drug manufacturer, Teva has become

the largest manufacturer of generic drugs in the US. Industry analysts believe this may allow Teva's sales to rise to some \$1 billion for 1996. Sales last year totaled \$668 million.

"The acquisition of Biocraft considerably enhances Teva's production and distribution capabilities and will strengthen Teva's position as one of the leading generic drug companies in the US," said Teva CEO Eli Hurvitz, noting that the merger will give Teva access to markets where Biocraft has a presence.

"The combination of the product offerings of Biocraft and Lemmon Company, Teva's US subsidiary, will result in one of the broadest generic-drug product lines on the market in the US, including antibiotics, where Biocraft has been the leading US generic market participant," he said.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Patiah (foreign currency deposit rates) (6.5.96)

Currency (deposit for)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.25	4.75	5.25
Pound sterling (£100,000)	4.25	4.25	4.50
German mark (DM 200,000)	1.75	1.75	2.25
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	0.50	0.50	0.75
Yen (10 million yen)			

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (\$1.5.96)

Currency basket	Buy	Sell	Bank of Israel
U.S. dollar	3.4878	3.689	3.6796
German mark	3.2647	3.3174	3.2930
French franc	2.1271	2.1815	2.1480
Japanese yen (100)	2.3794	2.4178	2.4050
Swiss franc	0.6287	0.6388	0.6332
Dutch guilder	3.0094	3.0380	3.0111
Spanish peseta (100)	1.3004	1.3211	1.3125
Italian lira (1,000)	2.5904	2.6222	2.6108
British pound (£10)	0.4832	0.4910	0.4885
Australian dollar	0.4878	0.5257	0.5227
Canadian dollar	0.5508	0.5587	0.5583
South African rand	0.6890	0.7002	0.6971
Portuguese escudo (200)	2.3794	2.4178	2.4050
Israeli shekel (10)	2.0057	2.0498	2.0451
Israeli shekel (1,000)	0.7471	0.7582	0.7549
Japanese yen (10)	1.0349	1.0516	1.0453
Australian dollar (10)	3.0231	3.0719	3.0542
British pound (100)	2.1069	2.1409	2.1294
Portuguese escudo (200)	—	—	—
Israeli shekel (10)	4.0185	4.0844	4.0632
Spanish peseta (100)	5.1438	5.2296	5.1987
—	2.3285	2.3703	2.3512

* These rates vary according to bank. ** Bank of Israel.

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Tel Aviv-Jaffa Magistrates Court
Civil Case 38855/96 before
Registrar N. Grossman
The Plaintiff: Danny Mizrahi
vs.
The Respondent: Gordon Festos,
Nigerian Passport No. B-516347

The hearing has been postponed until
June 12, 1996, at 8:30 a.m.
The Respondent is summoned to
appear at the court at the above time,
telling which the hearing
will proceed in his absence.
Danny Mizrahi, Plaintiff

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US expected to announce Iraqi oil plans today

Shares up after market reassured

Key Representative Rates: US Dollar NIS 3.2990, Sterling NIS 8.0869, Mark NIS 2.1490

Precious metals close with modest gains

PRECIOUS metals ended with modest gains on Friday after a midday boost amid weakening stock and bond prices.

Despite mostly bullish fundamental factors, the market started out weaker, pressured by some speculative selling, sources said.

A strong gain in the CRB (Commodity Research Bureau) index, plus a rally in the XAU gold/silver index, helped push precious metals higher in the afternoon.

At the close, August gold was up 40 cents at \$394.40, July silver rose 6.0 cents at \$5.403, July platinum was up 90 cents at \$403.40 and June palladium increased 10 cents at \$132.80.

Copper futures ended weaker on Friday, but well off the sharply lower levels posted in early trading, due to a much smaller than expected decline in copper warehouse stocks on the LME.

July copper futures ended the day with a 50-point loss at \$1.15, after a session high of \$1.1550 and a session low of \$1.1380.

Corn and wheat futures contracts made new session highs on Friday, as short covering and light buying lifted the market.

Lending support for corn was a forecast for the Corn Belt calling for weekend rains and more rain later this week. Strength in corn also came from ideas that corn-soybean spreading may have started.

Wheat closed higher after chopping quietly on Friday. There was no real fundamental news affecting the market.

Wheat's weaker trade came from a mid-session sell off, where funds pressured the market into its lows. However, trade and prices strengthened on news of wet weather expected for the weekend, traders said.

Courtesy of Michael Zwebner, ComStock Trading Ltd.

GENEVA (Reuters) - The US is expected to announce formally today that American firms can import oil made available under an oil-for-food deal between Iraq and the UN, a US administration official said over the weekend.

"It think it's likely that we will announce shortly, probably Monday, that US firms will be able to bid on the contracts that are now open because of the UN Security Council decision under [resolution] 986," he said.

"There's no reason to put American firms under a tremendous disadvantage when we think

[UN resolution] 986 makes sense, is sound policy and can work well," said the official who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The official was traveling with US Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is in Geneva to meet Balkan leaders.

Baghdad signed the oil-for-food deal with the UN on May 20.

Under the deal, Baghdad is allowed to export oil worth \$2 billion every six months to raise money to buy much-needed food and medicine for its impoverished people.

The US, among the first to buy-

port Iraqi oil after Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, had hesitated about lifting its own embargo for the humanitarian oil sale because it did not want to appear to be easing pressure on Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Administration sources said this week government agencies that favored giving US companies the same opportunity as their foreign competitors to buy Iraqi oil had prevailed in the debate within the Clinton administration.

Iraqi Oil Minister Amir Mohammed Rasheed said last Thursday Iraq would export about 450,000 barrels per day (bpd) through Turkey, with the Iraqi terminal of Mina Bakr handling the remainder, some 330,000 bpd.

He estimated Iraq would need to export about 800,000 bpd at current prices in order to be able to collect the \$2 billion in six months.

American refiners - including Exxon, Petrofina's Fina Inc, Royal Dutch/Shell's Shell Oil, and Coastal Corp. - had been importing a total of more than 600,000 barrels per day of Iraqi oil before it was banned from world markets.

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET

FELICE MARANZ



STOCKS, which fell last Thursday as it became clear Binyamin Netanyahu would be the next prime minister, recovered after Netanyahu reassured investors he favors a "free economy" and was seen as likely to continue the peace process.

The Maof Index rose 1.78 percent to 217.93 and the Two-Sided Index went up 1.91% to 205.23.

Some NIS 81 million worth of shares traded, NIS 111.7m. below last Thursday's level and about even with last month's average trading level.

The indexes had declined more than 4% on Thursday amid concern Netanyahu would slow the peace process and fail to implement needed budget cuts.

Investors had been anticipating a victory for Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

Statements by the prime minister soothed investors' fears, said Eli Nahum, head of trading at the Tel Aviv investment firm Zannex Securities Ltd.

"Likud MK Dan Tichon, a member of the Knesset Finance Committee, also made an unprecedented and well-received

visit to the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange yesterday, analysts said.

The Maof Index-listed IDB group of companies rose after announcing better than expected earnings.

Investment company IDB Holding Corp. gained 5.25%; investment company IDB Development Corp. gained 3.75%; and Discount Investment Corp. gained 4.25%.

IDB Holding owns 71% of IDB Development Corp., which in turn owns 55% of Discount Investment.

IDB Holdings said first-quarter net income more than doubled to NIS 39.2m. from NIS17.5m. in the first quarter last year.

IDB Development also said net income more than doubled, to NIS 59.9m. in the quarter from NIS26.4m.

Discount Investment said net income rose to NIS 50m. from NIS31.1m.

Other gaining Maof Index-listed companies included Teva Pharmaceuticals Ltd., which rose 3%, and Koor Industries Ltd., which rose 3%. (Bloomberg)

OPEC unlikely to agree on cutting output

VIENNA (Reuters) - OPEC ministers covered on Vienna yesterday for talks to rally their fragile cartel and avert a price collapse

oil that the UN is easing its Gulf War embargo on the exports of Iraq.

But delegates saw scant prospect that others among the 12 cash-pinned members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries would agree to cut output quotas to make room for up to a million barrels per day of Iraqi oil.

With OPEC quotas narrowed, prices are already down by \$1 for a barrel. Skeptical traders worry that this 100th OPEC conference

opening on Wednesday may be as acrimonious as most of the previous 99.

"OPEC is in a real bind," says Mehdi Varzi, a veteran OPEC-watcher who follows oil for Kleinwort Benson in London.

Relaxing sanctions that have applied since 1990, when Iraq invaded fellow OPEC founder-member Kuwait, the UN agreed on May 20 that the Iraqis could sell oil worth \$2 billion over six months to buy food and medicine.

As OPEC quota cuts are all-but ruled out, the spotlight in Vienna will be on the fraught issue of alleged violations of these mandated limits that have lifted total

OPEC supply way over the existing agreed ceiling.

But delegates doubt if OPEC linchpin Saudi Arabia has any stomach to resort to a traditional gambit of threatening to turn up its huge volume to coerce violators to keep the rules.

Nor can Iraq, on parole with the UN, rattle its Scud missiles at offenders as it did once in 1990, when it inherited the role of OPEC enforcer.

The Vienna talks may therefore end up just papering cracks in the cartel facade. OPEC would try to reassure traders that demand in a buoyant global economy will sop up the Iraqi oil and vow to con-

vene in emergency talks if it doesn't.

The case for doing nothing just now rests on a view that demand is strong, industry stocks are low and nobody really knows yet how much Iraqi will hit the market and how soon.

Iraqi Oil Minister Amir Mohammed Rasheed says the UN formula may work out around 800,000 barrels daily at current prices through a Turkish pipeline and Mina Bakr in the Gulf.

Meanwhile Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Prince Saud Faisal has said the Iraqi oil "can be easily absorbed by world markets."

UK postal workers vote for strike

LONDON (Reuters) - Britain yesterday stepped closer to its first national mail strike in eight years when postal workers voted in favor of striking in a dispute over new flexible working practices.

Members of the Communication Workers Union (CWU) voted by more than two to one for strike action after talks with Royal Mail, Britain's postal service, broke down last month after almost a year of talks.

The general secretary of the CWU, Alan Johnson, said the ballot showed the depth of opposition among Britain's 140,000 postal workers to Royal Mail's plans to introduce "team working" with a number of staff handling deliveries over a wide area.

But Johnson said the union would not press ahead with strike action until it had held fresh talks with Royal Mail.

"Let's try to settle this dispute without disrupting customer service," Johnson told delegates after announcing the result of the vote to his union's annual meeting in the northern seaside resort of Blackpool.

Richard Dykes, Royal Mail's chief executive, said he thought the differences between the two sides could be bridged.

"I don't think even in the light of this result that industrial action is anything like inevitable. The important thing now is for us to get back round the table with the union so we can sort our differences out," Dykes told BBC television.

over the past few days.

Johnson said the union's vote was a "strong message" to Royal Mail that it would not accept the proposed changes without a deal on flexible working practices.

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Bonn '97 forecast shows German debt above EMU goal

FRANKFURT (Reuters) - Germany, which overshot its budget targets in 1995, now believes its 1997 public debts will probably exceed the strict entry criteria laid down for European monetary union.

A spokeswoman for the German Finance Ministry said internal forecasts showed Germany with a debt to gross domestic product ratio of 61.5 percent next year.

The 61.5% figure would mean that - in the very strictest definition - Germany would fail the 1997 test for entry to monetary union, as outlined in the Maastricht Treaty.

The forecast represents a further embarrassment for Germany, which shocked its European Union partners earlier this year with news that it recorded a 3.6% ratio of public deficits to GDP in 1995, well beyond a 3% target.

Europe's largest economy - long the self-appointed custodian of monetary and fiscal order among EU countries - rapidly became less vocal in lecturing others about their deficit problems after announcing its 1995 budget shortfall.

Instead, Bonn embarked on a comprehensive program to cut back spending in a bid to make sure that the deficit target is not missed in 1997, the year in which the entry standards must be met by countries which want to enter EMU at the 1999 start.

It is confident these will be successful. The ministry spokeswoman said forecasts on deficits showed Germany would meet the deficit criteria comfortably with a 2.5% ratio.

However, many independent economists, noting that Germany is expected to miss the deficit criteria again this year, say it is touch

and go whether Germany will really be able to push the figure below 3%.

The European Commission forecast in May that Germany's debt ratio would be an even higher 62.4% next year and penciled in the budget figure at 2.9%.

Economists dismissed the Commission's figures, which also put France just in the net with a 3.0% level, as taking a too optimistic view for political reasons.

Germany and France are viewed as essential first-round members of EMU.

A surprisingly sharp downturn in European economies this year has scuppered many countries in their efforts to meet Maastricht's budget goals, the stumbling block for many countries who already broadly meet the other economic criteria: convergence on inflation, exchange, and interest rates.

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

- ACROSS: 7 Theatre attendants (4-5), 8 It's rolled back for the opening (5), 10 Driver, perhaps, doing the rounds in a cart (4,4), 11 Fresh topics for light-minded scientists (6), 12 Aspersions on the staff, perhaps (4), 13 A strapless top is a mistake on the Underground (4,4), 15 A number agreed to correction, being humble (7), 17 They're not at home with regulations (7), 20 Dispose of in haste (8), 22 Accomplished fellow with a certain bearing (4), 25 Join a silent order (6), 26 From the soil we'll get mineral deposits (3-5), 27 Stiff and thoroughly wet (5), 28 These lads could be immortal (9), DOWN: 1 Share a student has the luck to get (5), 2 An attractive person - this much one can see (6), 3 A clergyman may be arrested (8), 4 A schoolboy howler? (3-4), 5 What the driver needs above all is to be sober (8), 6 Blow by blow version dipped into a parties (9), 9 Crazy, perhaps, but often with motive (4), 14 Explosive set on fire (8), 16 Went and put it right (9), 18 Rise and fall of one of the French, recently deceased (8), 19 Exclamation party-goers may make! (7), 21 Carry to terrible extremes (4), 23 Hostility put on record (6), 24 Soft, and luxuriant pile fabric (5)

Crossword grid with clues and solutions. Solutions include: Across 7: THEATRE, 8: UNROLL, 10: ROUNDS, 11: TOPICS, 12: ASPIRATIONS, 13: MISTAKE, 15: NUMBER, 17: REGULATIONS, 20: DISPOSE, 22: ACCOMPLISHED, 25: JOIN, 26: MINERAL, 27: WET, 28: IMMORTAL, Down 1: SHARE, 2: ATTRACTIVE, 3: CLERGYMAN, 4: SCHOOLBOY, 5: DRIVER, 6: BLOW, 9: CRAZY, 14: EXPLOSIVE, 16: WENT, 18: RISE, 19: EXCLAMATION, 21: CARRY, 23: HOSTILITY, 24: SOFT.

QUICK CROSSWORD

- ACROSS: 1 Purchaser (5), 4 Imbibe (5), 10 Diaphragm (7), 11 Poetry (5), 12 Freight (5), 13 Tasteless (7), 15 Sandhill (4), 17 Stratrum (5), 19 Keen (5), 22 Dress (4), 25 Saved (7), 27 London (5), 29 Cuttlefish (5), 30 Pledge (7), 26 Excessive (5), 32 Viper (5), DOWN: 2 Beneath (5), 3 Event (7), 5 Variety entertainment (5), 6 Relate (7), 7 Slap (5), 8 Frequently (5), 9 Fier (5), 14 Oggle (4), 16 Impel (4), 18 Attack (7), 20 Decamp (7), 21 Ridge (5), 23 Modify (5), 24 Dulcet (5), 26 Excessive (5), 28 Artless (5)

TEL AVIV STOCKS

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Sampras, Courier, Seles, Graf Panthers skate into finals

advance to quarter-finals

PARIS, June 2 (Reuters) Pete Sampras, with two fierce five-set battles behind him, took another stride towards the French Open title with a dominant 6-4, 7-5, 6-2 win over Australian Scott Draper yesterday to move into the quarter-finals.

But Monica Seles was, in many ways, even more impressive, winning a mental battle of her own as well as crushing 13th seed Magdalena Maleeva in 52 minutes to win through to the last eight.

The Yugoslav-born American confirmed she was back to her best, sweeping past the Bulgarian 6-1, 6-1.

Seles, who won here in 1990, 1991 and 1992, has not been beaten in Paris since June 1989, when she lost in the semifinals of her first grand slam tournament to now joint world No. 1 Steffi Graf.

In the men's quarter-finals, Sampras will meet compatriot Jim Courier, winner here in 1991 and 1992.

Courier beat South African Wayne Ferreira 4-6, 6-1, 6-3, 6-3 and said afterwards: "I'm looking forward to the match against Pete very much even if on paper, you would obviously say Pete would win that match."

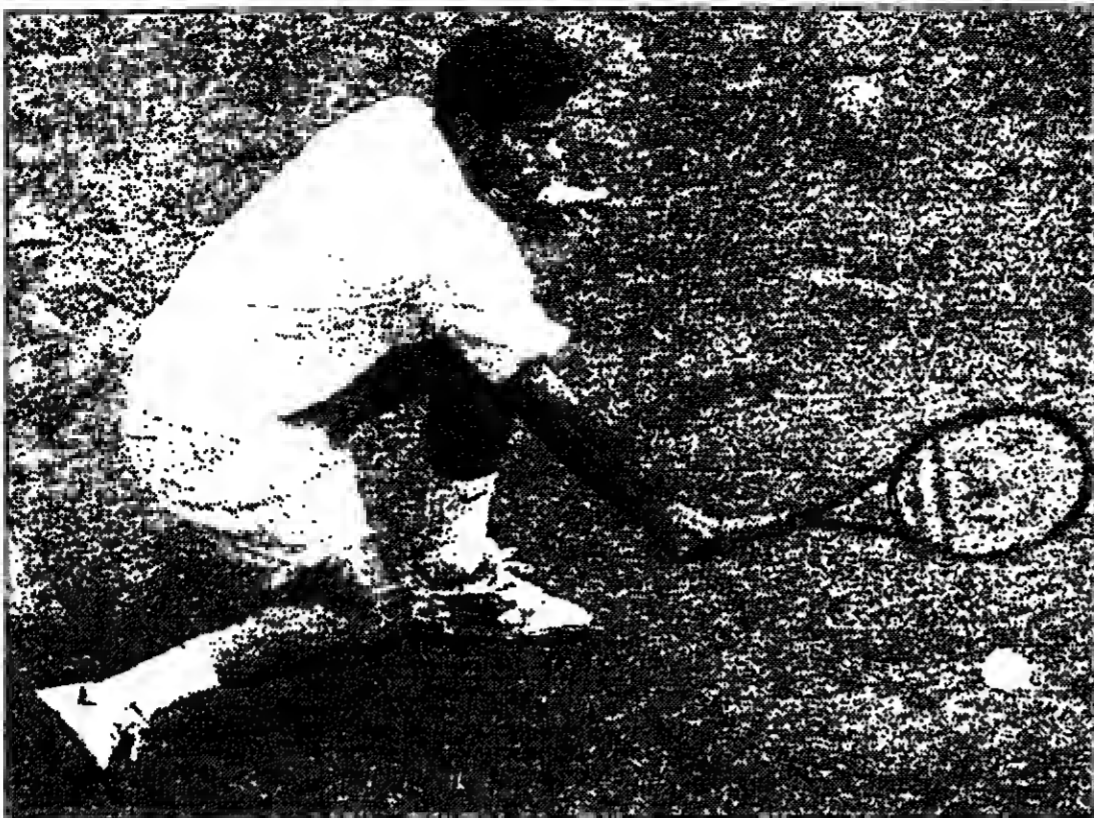
Top seed Graf had to fight for an hour and 31 minutes to dismiss American Mary Joe Fernandez in a re-match of the 1993 final. After cruising through the first set 6-1, Graf trailed 4-0 in the second set tie-break before fighting back. But she still had difficulty clinching the match as Fernandez, seeded 11th, saved four match points before finally bowing to defeat.

"It was great tennis in the second set. She really went for her shots and it was great fun to play," said Graf, whose match was interrupted for an hour and a half by rain.

Graf's compatriot Anke Huber, seeded fifth, crashed out in the fourth round, losing to Slovakia's Karina Habsudova 7-5, 6-3.

Russian Yevgeny Kafelnikov, seeded sixth, and Dutchman Richard Krajicek, seeded 13th, will clash in another contrasting quarter-final.

"Richard likes to rush to the net and I like to stay back. We've had pretty close matches in the past," said Kafelnikov, who has yet to lose a set in the tournament.



ON THE BALL - Pete Sampras returns a backhand to Australian Scott Draper during their match at the French Open yesterday.

Seles fights off memories of '93 stabbing

PARIS (AP) - Horrible memories flooded back for Monica Seles as she walked to her chair after the first game of her fourth-round match yesterday at the French Open against Magdalena Maleeva.

Seles was facing Maleeva for the first time since they last met in Hamburg, Germany, on April 30, 1993, the day Seles was stabbed in the back by a fan during a changeover.

Seles said she had trouble sleeping Saturday night just thinking about playing Maleeva again.

"I was pretty nervous this morning," she said. "I was a little bit edgy in practice before the match."

On Sunday, black-suited bodyguards with earphones stood behind the players' chairs, surveying the crowd.

Still, Seles struggled to fight back thoughts of 1993. "On the changeover, it was really tough," she said. "I knew that coming into the match, I said to

myself, 'Just keep going and keep not thinking about it, it's just another tennis match. That's what I try to do.'"

The bad thoughts didn't last long. Seles quickly took command, winning the first four games and coasting to a 6-1, 6-1 victory in just 52 minutes.

Maleeva insisted the 1993 stabbing never came into her mind.

"That didn't bother me at all," she said. "I have forgotten about it."

Maleeva, the No. 13 seed, said Seles' relatively mediocre performances in her earlier matches were misleading.

"The fact that she wasn't playing so well, you shouldn't really pay attention to that much, because it's Monica Seles, and when she needs to, she will rise to the occasion," Maleeva said.

Her title streak was cut short by the stabbing. "My serve felt great today, so much better than any other previous matches," Seles said.

Panthers skate into finals

PITTSBURGH (AP) - Tom Fitzgerald and Mike Hough, nondescript players on a mostly starless team, scored key goals and Mario Lemieux and Jaromir Jagr didn't, and the Florida Panthers stunned the Pittsburgh Penguins 3-1 Saturday night in the Eastern Conference finals.

The Panthers, becoming the first team to reach the Stanley Cup finals in only their third season, meet the Claude Lemieux-led Colorado Avalanche in one of the least probable Cup finals in NHL history beginning tomorrow night in Denver.

It will be the rats against the rookies - the Panthers' rat-throwing fans against a franchise that relocated from Quebec to Colorado only last summer.

To get there, the Panthers won Game 7 the same way they dominated the series. They confused the NHL's two leading scorers, Lemieux and Jagr, who didn't score in the final five games, and got big goals themselves from unlikely sources.

Goaltender John Vanbiesbroeck, a Penguins playoff whipping boy until this series, made 39 saves and will almost certainly be the playoff MVP should the Panthers again defy history by winning the Cup.

Hough provided a huge motivational lift by scoring the opening goal at 13:13 - a time that proved an ominous omen for the Penguins. Fitzgerald gave them another, answering Petr Nedved's tying goal in the third period by powering a seemingly harmless slap shot from the right point by goaltender Tom Barrasso at 6:18.

Fitzgerald has scored five of six career playoff goals against Pittsburgh, with two coming as the New York Islanders rallied from a 3-2 deficit - just like the Panthers - to upset the Penguins in 1993.

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Schumacher No. 1 at Spanish GP

BARCELONA (AP) - Two-time world champion Michael Schumacher dominated the competition through a continuous rain to capture the Spanish Grand Prix yesterday giving Ferrari its 106th Formula One victory.

Schumacher was surprised with the ease of his victory after only qualifying third.

"It's amazing. If anyone had said I would have won this race, I would not have put a penny on it," Schumacher said.

It was the 20th career victory for Schumacher but first in a Ferrari, which had won just two races since 1990, last year's Canadian Grand Prix and the

1994 German Grand Prix. Jean Alesi was second in a Benetton-Renault 45,302 seconds behind. Jacques Villeneuve, the Canadian rookie in a Williams-Renault, was third, 48 seconds back.

Damon Hill, who won four of the first five races this year and had the pole position in a Williams-Renault, failed to finish for the second race in a row.

He spun and hit a wall in the 12th lap but still has the overall lead in the driver's standings.

The race was scheduled for 65 laps of the 4.727-kilometer Circuit de Catalunya, or 307.255 kilometers, and barely finished 10

seconds before the two-hour time limit in 1 hour, 59 minutes, 49.307 seconds.

Germany's Heinz-Harald Frentzen in a Sauber-Ford was fourth with Finland's Mika Hakkinen in a McLaren-Mercedes fifth with Brazil's Pedro Diniz next in a Ligier-Mugen-Honda.

After two days of sunny weather, a rain started early in the morning and continued throughout the day. It increased just before the start and the wet conditions knocked six cars in the first two laps.

Only six of the 20 starters finished the race compared to three at the Monaco Grand Prix two weeks ago.

Reds tame Maddux

CINCINNATI (AP) - Mark Portugal pitched seven innings Saturday for his first win and the Cincinnati Reds turned a fortunate first inning off Greg Maddux into a 3-2 victory at home over the Atlanta Braves.

Cincinnati broke a streak of 12 consecutive losses to the Braves, including a sweep in the NL championship series last October. The Reds' last win also was over Maddux, last August 9 in Atlanta.

Maddux (5-4) is just 10-11 career against the Reds, who were one of only two teams to beat him in the regular season last year.

Portugal (1-4), winless in his nine previous starts this season, held on for his first victory since September 29. Jeff Brantley

struck out the side in the ninth for his 12th save.

Pete Harnisch overcame a shaky first inning for host New York. Harnisch (4-3) allowed three runs on four hits in seven innings. He walked three, all in the first inning when the Dodgers scored twice. John Franco got his 11th save.

The Mets scored twice in the sixth, overcoming a 3-2 deficit. Tom Candiello (3-5) took the loss.

Yankees 6, Athletics 3 Wade Boggs got his 2,600th career hit, an RBI single that sparked a four-run fifth inning for visiting New York. Andy Pettitte (8-3) pitched 5 1/2 innings, allowing three runs on eight hits. John Wetteland pitched the ninth for his 11th save.

Bobby Chouinard (0-2) was the loser.

SATURDAY'S NL RESULTS: Cincinnati 3, Atlanta 2 New York 4, Los Angeles 3 San Diego 2, Philadelphia 3 Colorado 2, Pittsburgh 0 Montreal 5, San Francisco 1 Chicago 5, Florida 4 (10) St. Louis 5, Houston 4 (10)

Atlanta 35 18 660 - Montreal 32 23 582 4 Florida 27 28 491 9 Philadelphia 28 27 491 9 New York 23 30 434 12

Central Division Houston 27 29 482 - St. Louis 25 29 483 1 Chicago 23 31 426 3 Cincinnati 20 29 417 3 Pittsburgh 21 33 389 5

West Division San Diego 35 20 636 - Los Angeles 29 27 518 8 1/2 Colorado 26 25 510 7 San Francisco 26 27 491 8

SATURDAY'S AL RESULTS: Milwaukee 2, Cleveland 1 Toronto 5, Kansas City 3 (10) Boston 6, Seattle 5 New York 6, Oakland 3 Detroit 6, Chicago, ppd., rain Minnesota 9, Texas 3 California 8, Baltimore 3

Atlanta 35 18 660 - Montreal 32 23 582 4 Florida 27 28 491 9 Philadelphia 28 27 491 9 New York 23 30 434 12

Central Division Houston 27 29 482 - St. Louis 25 29 483 1 Chicago 23 31 426 3 Cincinnati 20 29 417 3 Pittsburgh 21 33 389 5

West Division San Diego 35 20 636 - Los Angeles 29 27 518 8 1/2 Colorado 26 25 510 7 San Francisco 26 27 491 8

NBA playoffs - at a glance

CONFERENCE FINALS LAST NIGHT Utah at Seattle (Series tied 3-3)

NBA FINALS TUESDAY Winner of Utah/Seattle vs. Cleveland

Cyprus youths edge out Israel at international meet

ISRAEL was narrowly beaten by Cyprus at the close of the international youth athletics (under-19 years) meet at Hadar Yosef yesterday.

The host men's team ended with 127 points against Cyprus's 128 while Turkey finished with 109.

The Cypriot women also dominated, collecting 126 points against Israel's 110 and Turkey's 88.

Marina Shafraon from Elitzur Yavne scored the day's record with her triple jump of 12.08 meters, beating her own previous record of 11.98m.

Polevaulier Itai Choter won his event with a jump of 4.30m while Ilan Moradi won the 800m men's race in 1:54.73.

Israel's Draga Mokot finished a close second in the 3000m behind Turkey's Secri Idin, whose winning time was 8:23.53. Mokot managed 8:24.79.

In other results, Sumeyra Iali from Turkey won the women's 3000m in 10:14.70 and her compatriot Sureya Ayhan took the women's 800m in 2:12.9. Georgios Kyteronias from Cyprus took the men's 200m in 22.31 and Zano Patazionou, also from Cyprus, finished first in the women's 200m with a time of 25.28.

Cypriot runners, Nikos Constantinou and Maria Tsangaridou, also won both the men's and women's 400m hurdles with times of 55.91 and 1:04.69 respectively.

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DEADLINES OFFICE:

Jerusalem - weekdays: 12 noon the day before publication; for Friday and Sunday: 6 p.m. on Thursday. Tel Aviv and Netiv - weekdays: 12 noon, 2 days before publication; for Friday and Sunday: 4 p.m. Thursday in Tel Aviv and 12 noon Thursday in Haifa.

DWELLINGS

General

WHERE TO STAY

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DWELLINGS

Jerusalem

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NEVE ZEDEK, VERY luxurious house, completely furnished, \$3,300, KAV HAYAM, Tel. 03-523-3968.

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EZOREHIM, 4 + BALCONY, like new, doorman + country club "YAL REALTOR" (Maidan) 03-8426253

FOR SALE, IMMEDIATE, private, high standard, 3 rooms, Gordon corner Dizengoff. Tel. 03-647-1843, 052-764960.

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SALE/RENTAL, JAFFA, LARGE Arab-style house, view of sea and Old City, 400 sq.m. built, "KAV HAYAM" Tel. 03-5239868.

DWELLINGS

Southern Coast

PASSPORT

MERCEDES 280 FE, '84, automatic, passport to passport. 08-8550075.

DWELLINGS

Sharon Area

EMBASSY LOOKING FOR villa, Herzliya Pituah, 4 bedroom, basement, garage, long lease. Tel. 03-527-0013.

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SALES

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Jerusalem

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General

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Court increases sentences of teenage rapists

EVELYN GORDON

THE Supreme Court yesterday increased the sentences of two boys convicted of repeatedly raping a 14-year-old girl in Kiryat Tivon, but acquitted a third.

The sentences of the other four boys involved in the affair were left unchanged.

The courts have barred publication of the defendants' names.

Relatives of the boys reacted angrily to the court's decision.

"This is destroying the life of a 17-year-old boy," said one relative of the decision to up the ringleader's sentence from one year to three. "Three years is an exaggerated sentence... He committed the acts when he was 14."

"This is the media's demand. It isn't truth," protested the father of one of the boys whose sentence was not changed. "The girl is as guilty as the boys... This wasn't rape, and everyone knew it wasn't rape. I expect exactly the same [standard of behavior] from a 14-year-old girl as I do from a 14-year-old boy."

"They shouldn't have done what they did, even if she agreed," he continued. "But it wasn't rape."

The seven boys, all between the ages of 14 and 17, were convicted by Haifa District Court six months ago of repeatedly raping the victim, both singly and in groups. Defendant No. 1, the ringleader, was sentenced to a year in prison, while Nos. 2 and 4 received 10 months. No. 6 was sentenced to six months of community service, while Nos. 3, 5 and 7 were sentenced without conviction to 200 hours of public service. The light sentences aroused a public outcry, and the state appealed them. Several of

the boys also appealed either their convictions or their sentences.

Justices Eliezer Goldberg, Eliahu Mazza and Zvi Tal all agreed that No. 2's conviction should be overturned, since it was not clear that he realized the girl did not want to sleep with him. She had been ordered to do so by No. 1, to whom she had objected, but according to her own testimony, she expressed her opposition to No. 2 only at the height of the sexual act.

The justices also agreed that No. 1, as the ringleader, and No. 4, who was the next most active participant, should have their sentences increased to three years and 20 months, respectively.

Despite the boys' youth, and the possibly grave effects of a prison sentence on their future, the need to deter other boys from similar acts of exploitation mandated a harsher sentence, the justices ruled.

Goldberg and Tal said they would also normally have given No. 6 an actual prison sentence, instead of community service, but refrained from doing so because of the findings of the state's psychological testing service, which indicated that prison might have an unusually detrimental effect on him. Mazza, in his dissent, said he would have imposed a 10-month sentence despite these findings, because of the severity of his actions.

Mazza also dissented from the majority's decision to uphold the sentencing of No. 7 without convicting him.

None of the three saw any reason to question the convictions or the sentences of the other boys.



A recently restored mosaic from a fifth-century synagogue excavated at Tzipori went on display at the Israel Museum for the first time yesterday. The mosaic depicts biblical scenes, such as Abraham's servants waiting at the foot of Mt. Moriah during the binding of Isaac. (Gabi Laron)

Railways director commits suicide

RAINE MARCUS

EHUD Hadar, director of the Railways Division of the Ports and Railways Authority, was found dead in the Hulda forest yesterday afternoon. He had shot himself once in the head. His pistol and a suicide note addressed to his family were found near his car.

Hadar was recently questioned by police as part of a broader investigation into alleged irregularities regarding a tender for a railroad to haul waste from the center of the country to the Negev. Senior authority officials, including managing director Shoshana Lerer, and legal advisers were questioned in connection with alleged preferential treatment

given to a certain company bidding for the tender.

Hadar was investigated for allegedly suborning witnesses and persuading others to coordinate their versions of events.

Recommendations to indict certain senior officials were recently transferred to the District Attorney's Office, but it could not be confirmed that Hadar was among them.

Police would not reveal the contents of the suicide note, which was turned over to his family, but it is believed that the investiga-

tion triggered the tragic event.

His body was found by a Jewish National Fund employee, who initially noticed a "suspicious car with the driver's door open." On approaching, he saw the body lying beside it. He immediately alerted police.

Police estimated that Hadar, of Rebovot, in his 60s, killed himself sometime yesterday morning. He had not been reported missing by his family.

The Ports and Railways authority issued a statement saying it had received the news "with astonishment and great distress, and was deeply shocked by the incident."

Court upholds retroactive TV fee increase

EVELYN GORDON

IN its first ruling by 13 justices, the High Court of Justice decided yesterday that the Israel Broadcasting Authority has the right to collect fees which were legalized by the Knesset only retroactively.

However, the court said, the IBA may not fine those who did not pay the fees during the years when they were illegal.

The court did not address the issue of whether those who already paid the fines are entitled to a refund, saying this was a matter best determined by a civil suit. MK Eliezer Zandberg (Tsomet), who filed the petition, said he is considering organizing a class-action suit.

The case stemmed from the 1985 Price Stabilization Law, which froze all fees for services rendered, unless the finance minister approved a raise. The IBA, claiming that its radio and television fees were actually taxes, and therefore exempt, continued to

raise its fees. In 1992, however, the Supreme Court ruled that IBA fees were subject to the law, and that the fee increases were illegal.

To protect the IBA from having to repay the over NIS 1 billion it had collected illegally, the Knesset passed a law retroactively legalizing the increases. The law also enabled the IBA to collect the NIS 20 million owed by people who did not pay the fee increases during these years, and, according to the state's interpretation, to charge them linkage and fine them for late payment.

Zandberg then petitioned the High Court against this law, arguing that it violated the property-protection clause of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, by retroactively legitimizing fees which were levied illegally.

The 13 justices ruled unanimously that the law could not be

interpreted to allow the IBA to fine those who did not pay the fee on time. It is inconceivable, they wrote, that someone should be fined for not having paid a fee at a time when he had no legal obligation to do so.

However, they agreed that the law does permit linkage, since the law was meant to restore the IBA to the situation it would have been in had the fee increases been valid from the start. This meant allowing the IBA to collect the real value of the outstanding fees, they said.

With this limited interpretation, they continued, there is no contradiction between the law and the basic law. The basic law permits property rights to be infringed for a purpose appropriate to Israel's values as a Jewish and democratic state, as long as the damage is not greater than necessary, and the law to legalize the IBA fees meets these requirements, they said.

Weimar theater stages controversial 'Merchant of Venice'

HELEN KAYE

Today at the festival



THE Weimar German National Theater's controversial production of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* opened for two performances at the Israel Festival yesterday. Director Hannan Snir set the play in a concentration camp, where the SS officers play all of the roles except those of the Jews, which they have three of the camp's Jewish prisoners play.

"We are inviting audiences here to view the play through the eyes of Israeli artists working in Germany," Snir, who is Israeli,

said at yesterday's press conference. "If there [in Weimar] the play was a memo to the aggressors, here we see it from the point of view of the victims."

Snir praised the actors, saying that performing his concept of the play had been extraordinarily difficult for those playing the SS officers. The actors had balked initially at the "cruelties" they performed towards the Jews.

The city center of Weimar is about a dozen kilometers from the Buchenwald concentration camp. Timed to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the camp's liberation in 1945, the April 10 premiere got massive media exposure and was a country-wide sensation.

Weimar Theater literary manager Sybille Troester said that in Weimar "somebody walks out at almost every performance, mostly older people who were alive at the time. Young people accept the show very well and are ready to discuss it. They feel no guilt at what their grandparents may have done."

- Jerusalem Theater (JT) Sherover: Theater, *The Merchant of Venice*, from Weimar Theater; 7:30 p.m. - Henry Crown: Classical, Gabrieli Consort; 9 p.m.
- JT plaza: Family, music and dance by youth groups from all over Israel; 5:45 p.m. (Free)
- Small Hall: Recital with cellist Michael Homizer, pianist G. Telarova; Bloch, Weinberg, Shostakovich; 9 p.m. (Free)
- JT foyer: Jazz, Cro-Magnon Quintet, electro-acoustic alternative music (the group calls it urban chamber music); 10:30 p.m. (Free)
- Solan's Pool: Dance, Tokyo Ballet dancing Beirut; 9 p.m.
- Gerard Bchar: Dance, last Ghettoidigital performance; 9 p.m.

AROUND THE WORLD

	LOW	HIGH	
Amsterdam	07	17	clear
Berlin	07	18	clear
Buenos Aires	02	18	clear
Calcutta	17	28	cloudy
Chicago	12	18	cloudy
Copenhagen	08	14	clear
Frankfurt	12	18	clear
Geneva	14	19	clear
Hong Kong	22	31	clear
Jerusalem	04	17	clear
London	12	18	clear
Los Angeles	10	18	clear
Moscow	18	28	clear
New York	08	14	clear
Paris	12	18	clear
Rome	16	27	clear
Sydney	12	18	clear
Tel Aviv	10	20	clear
Tokyo	10	20	clear
Vienna	10	18	clear
Zurich	12	18	clear

Winning cards

In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the queen of spades, queen of hearts, queen of diamonds, and queen of clubs.

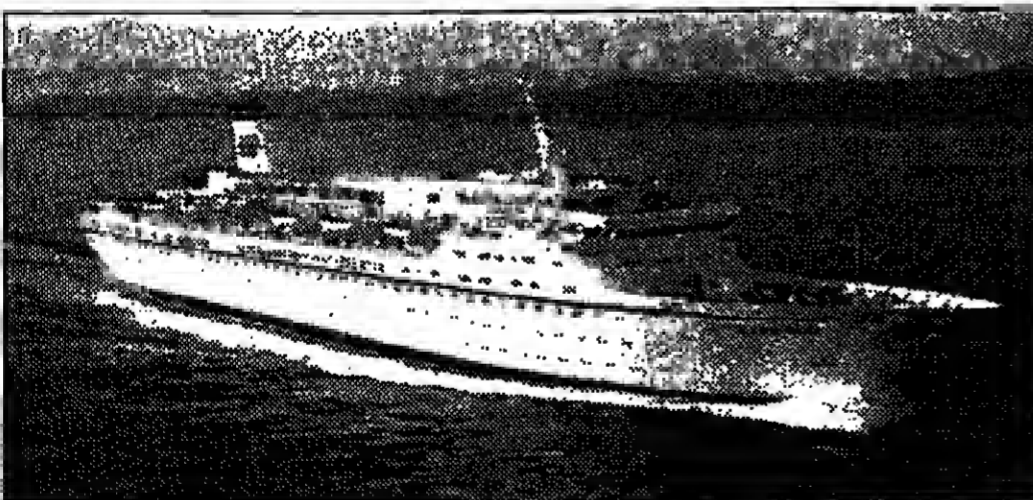
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

will confer honorary fellowships upon

- Sir John Balcombe, England
- Mr. Joseph Hadani, Israel
- Mr. Hanns Saenger, South Africa
- Prof. Sir William Stewart, England
- Mr. Stuart Silbert, Australia
- Mr. Samuel Kurian (ר"י), Mexico
- Mr. Haim Stoessel, Israel

on Monday, June 3, 1996

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Dr. Goell will give eight on-board lectures, giving the historical background of and highlighting the interesting places you will visit - Rhodes, Piraeus, Capri, Naples, Genoa, Alexandria and Port Said. Cruise departs from and returns to Ashdod.

Excursions at all ports of call - to the Jewish Quarter in Rhodes, the Acropolis, the Blue Grotto, Pompeii, the Italian and French Rivieras, and Cairo.

The dates: Thursday, August 28 - Sunday, Sept. 8

The cost: From \$2,060 per person, sharing a double upper outside cabin, all meals (including vegetarian), use of on-board facilities, entertainment, private daily lectures, and more.

Reservations and full details: ZIONTOURS, 19 Hillel St., P.O.B. 2726, Jerusalem, Tel. 02-254326/7 (ask for Halm); Fax. 02-255329. Organised by Jo-Anne Greenblatt 02-342079.

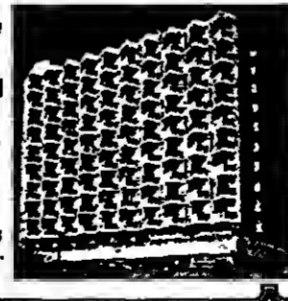
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